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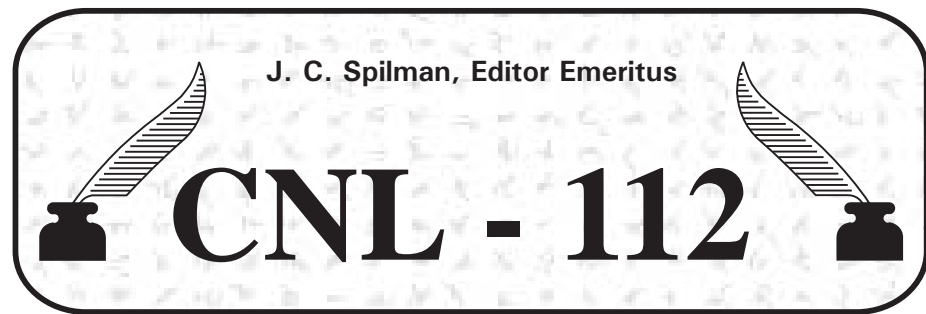
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**Matthew Boulton, Philip Parry Price Myddelton,
and the
Proposed Token Coinage for Kentucky**

by
Richard Margolis; Franklin Lakes, NJ

The attractiveness of the tokens struck at Matthew Boulton's Soho Mint more than two hundred years ago for use in Philip Parry Price Myddelton's proposed settlement in Kentucky has been commented on innumerable times. Descriptions of them in the literature almost routinely quote Sylvester S. Crosby's opinion that, "In beauty of design and execution, these tokens are unsurpassed by any piece issued for American circulation".¹ The story of their production and of the vicissitudes suffered by the man for whom they were struck is the purpose of this article.

Nearly thirty years ago Don Taxay published an extensive article on the Myddelton token, based primarily on correspondence which is part of the Matthew Boulton papers preserved in Birmingham, England.² No doubt because this article was published in a "popular" coin magazine it seems to have been all but forgotten. Even auction catalogues which offer the Myddelton token rarely refer to the very significant background information contained in Taxay's article.

The principal material published by Taxay consists of the original correspondence between Philip Parry Price Myddelton, writing from London,³ and Matthew Boulton of Soho, near Birmingham; the earliest letter is dated December 28, 1795, the last is February 24, 1796.⁴ The present writer has made numerous trips to Birmingham to study at first-hand various portions of the very extensive Matthew Boulton Papers. While paying deserved homage to Taxay's initial research, and making extensive use of some of the same materials, this article will revisit in considerably greater detail the story of Myddelton and his tokens. Minor errors will be corrected in Taxay's transcripts of the Boulton/Myddelton correspondence, two portions of the correspondence omitted by him will be illustrated, and relevant excerpts from a few other letters and documents in the Birmingham archives of which he was evidently unaware will be quoted.⁵

Taxay also published an important letter from Myddelton to Rufus King, American Minister to England and here, too, a careful examination of the actual letter has resulted in a more accurate transcript, correcting more than a dozen errors and omissions in the version published by Taxay.⁶

Detailed records from the Court of King's Bench, which do not seem to have been published before, have been consulted. They describe, *inter alia*, Myddelton's various indictments, his trial, and his sentence for violating a statute prohibiting the enticing of craftsmen to emigrate from England.⁷ Contemporary London newspapers as well as an American one which reported his sentence will be cited, and portions quoted from the transcript of another trial, some years later, in which Myddelton was the plaintiff.

In addition, two extremely rare, perhaps unique, trial pieces for the Myddelton token will be described; one of them has not been previously published, and both will be illustrated for the first time.

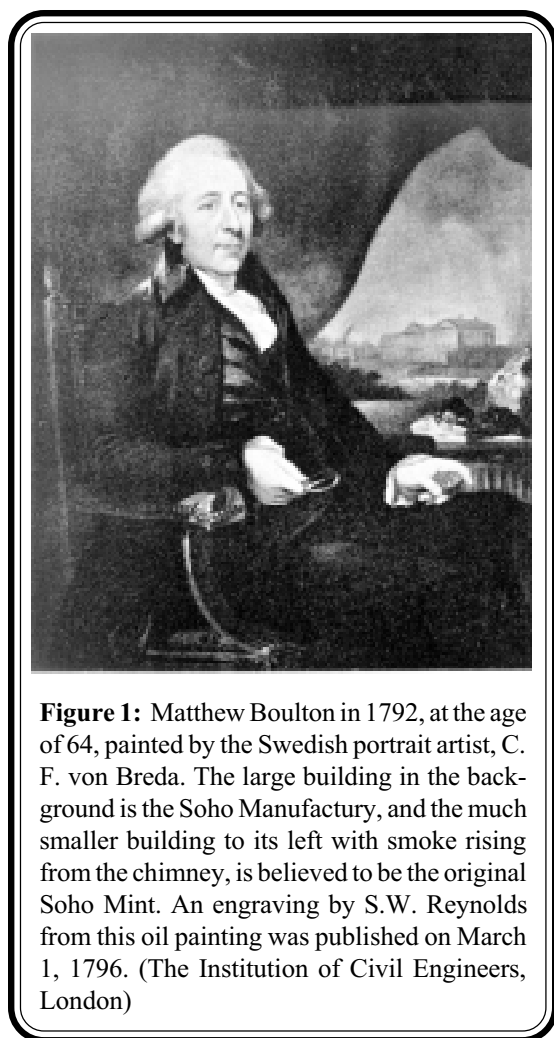
Finally, the Myddelton/Copper Company of Upper Canada mule will be discussed, and a possible reason for its having been struck at an earlier date than generally suggested will be proposed. In brief, this article is intended to present a fuller and more accurate version of Taxay's original research, and to greatly expand on it by adding a good deal of previously unpublished material to the story of Philip Parry Price Myddelton and his tokens.

Notes start on page 2016.

Research for this article was done at the following institutions:

American Numismatic Society (ANS)
Birmingham Central Reference Library, archives department (BRL)
British Library, London (BL)
New-York Historical Society (NYHS)
Public Record Office, London (PRO)

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**Figure 1:** Matthew Boulton in 1792, at the age of 64, painted by the Swedish portrait artist, C. F. von Breda. The large building in the background is the Soho Manufactory, and the much smaller building to its left with smoke rising from the chimney, is believed to be the original Soho Mint. An engraving by S.W. Reynolds from this oil painting was published on March 1, 1796. (The Institution of Civil Engineers, London)

By the end of 1795, Matthew Boulton's Soho Mint,<sup>8</sup> which had been erected late in 1787, had acquired nearly eight years of varied coining experience. **(fig.1)** Even though Boulton had as yet been unable to secure the British government contract for copper coinage which he so badly needed to properly utilize his mint and to justify the very considerable investment of time and money which he had made, the Soho mint had been far from idle. It had produced, in addition to various copper coinages for the East India Company, merchant tokens for a number of private domestic customers. Among the latter were John Wilkinson, the famous ironmaster; the Parys Mine Company, managed by Thomas Williams, the almost equally famous "Copper King"; Walter Taylor's Southampton Brewery, the Cornish Metal Company, and quite a few others. For still another client, the Sierra Leone Company, Soho had prepared, beginning late in 1792, an attractive 1791-dated silver and copper coinage.

Boulton had also produced an extensive series of private circulating tokens and a smaller series of commemorative medals in 1791 and 1792 for the Monneron frères of Paris. The Monneron tokens and medals occupied the Soho Mint for more than a year, from August 1791 through September 1792, and were by far the most numerous issues produced at Soho during this early period. Because of the many mechanical problems connected with

their production, which took considerable time and effort to slowly and laboriously overcome, the Monneron issues proved invaluable in improving the mint's technical capabilities.<sup>9</sup>

Although in a number of instances Boulton had supplied small numbers of special silver striking for some of his clients, as well as the four silver denominations ordered by the Sierra Leone Company, the Soho Mint's true *raison d'être* and chief stock in trade was the production of copper coins and tokens.

**The Matthew Boulton - Philip Parry Price Myddelton Correspondence**

This consists of a series of four letters plus a draft of one of them from Boulton to Myddelton, and three letters from Myddelton to Boulton. There is a reference to an initial letter of December 22nd 1795 from Myddelton, but this is lost (or at least has not survived among the papers at the BRL).<sup>10</sup> The absence of this earlier letter is unfortunate, as in it Myddelton might have supplied some personal details about himself, his purpose in ordering copper tokens, and perhaps even some information concerning his intended settlement in America. The earliest letter at the BRL is Boulton's reply to this missing one:<sup>11</sup>

Soho Birmingham 28<sup>th</sup>: Dec<sup>r</sup> 1795

Sir

I received in due course your favour of 22.<sup>d</sup> Dec<sup>r</sup>: requesting to be informed on what Terms I can supply you with Copper Coins. My Terms are:

£137 per Ton to be paid on Delivery, in a Bill @ 2 M<sup>os</sup>  
or £142 per Ton to be paid on delivery in a Bill at 8 Months on a  
house in London

at these prices I engage to furnish a handsome coin, perfectly round an advantage which no other Coin but mine possesses & which renders it extremely difficult of counterfeiting.

The expense of the Die is not included in the price above mentioned, but forms a separate charge which I cannot fix untill I see your device as heads & figures are more expensive than other Devices, but to give you some Idea I suppose the Dies may cost from 3 to 6 Guineas to make the Originals & those will be sufficient for any Quantity of Coin.

If you approve of my Terms I shall be glad to receive your Commands as soon as possible because the Engraving of the dies requires much time, perhaps ten times more than the striking the whole quantity of Coin that may be wanted.

I am Sir

Your very hble Ser<sup>t</sup>

[Endorsed:] P.P.P. Myddelton Esqr/ No:9 Bloomsbury Square / London /  
28th Dec<sup>r</sup> 1795

This letter brought a prompt reply from Myddelton.

9 Bloomsbury Square  
Dec<sup>r</sup>. 31 - 1795 -

Sir,

I am favored with your Letter, in answer to which I have to observe that as I mean to pay for the Copper Coin in Cash, upon delivery, so I conclude you will allow me the discount, 2<sup>ly</sup>. that you will deliver the packages at the Warehouse of my Merchants in London free of expence. With regard to the device I have not quite made up my Mind, but which will be determined before I receive your reply; at present I think I shall adopt the following plan, on one side, the figure of Britannia weeping over the emblems of Liberty and justice, surrounded by "British Settlemen Kentucky 1796" on the reverse, a Centre figure, representing Liberty stretching forth her hands to a smaller figure on each side emblematical of peace and plenty encircled by "payable by p.p.p.Myddelton, proprietor".

I will thank you for your opinion on this subject, when I will send you my final determination.

I am, Sir,

Your obed<sup>t</sup>. Serv<sup>t</sup>.

P.P.P.MYDDELTON

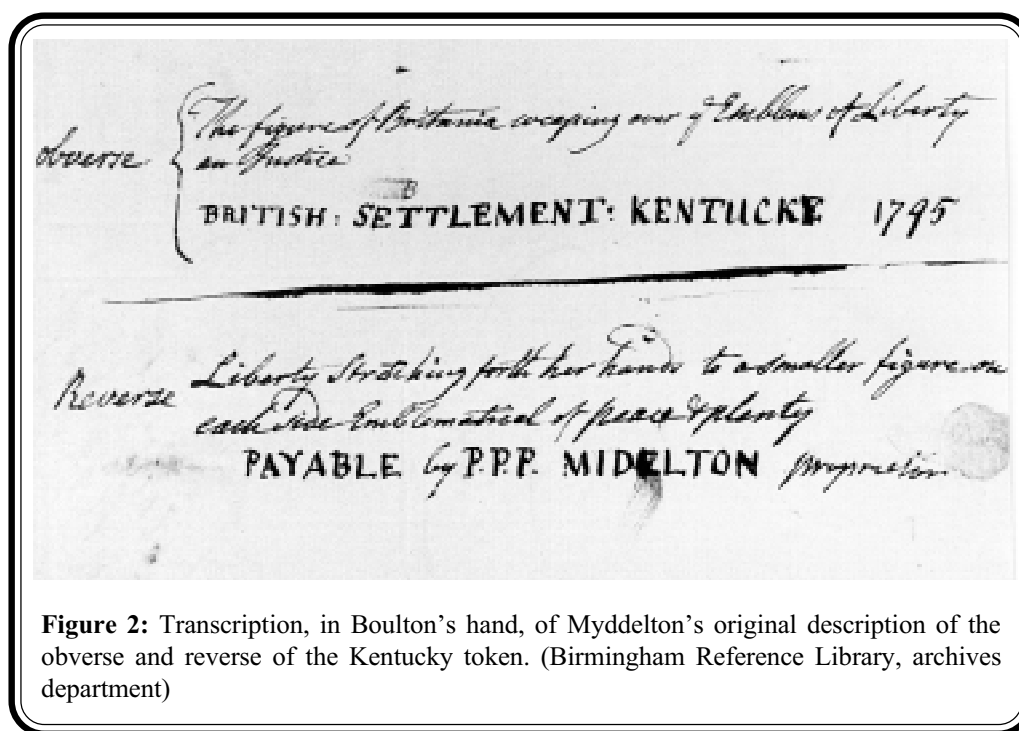
[Addressed:] Matthew Boulton / Soho / Birmingham

[Endorsed:] P. P. P. Myddelton / 31 Dec<sup>r</sup>. 1795

On the back of this letter is Boulton's transcription, in his own hand, of the designs and legends for the obverse and reverse which had been suggested by Myddelton:

obverse { The figure of Britannia weeping over y<sup>e</sup> Emblems of Liberty obverse  
an Justice  
BRITISH : SETTLEMENT : KENTUCKY 1795

Reverse Liberty Stretching forth her hands to a smaller figure on  
each side Emblematical of peace & plenty  
PAYABLE by P.P.P. MIDELTON proprietor (fig. 2)



**Figure 2:** Transcription, in Boulton's hand, of Myddelton's original description of the obverse and reverse of the Kentucky token. (Birmingham Reference Library, archives department)

On January 7, 1796 Boulton replied:

I have been much indisposed for a Week past with a severe cold, or should have acknowledged sooner your favour of the 31<sup>st</sup> Ult<sup>e</sup>. . . You may depend upon my allowing you the most favourable Terms, as you propose to pay in Cash upon delivery, - even the same that I have given to a house that I supplied with several hundreds of Tons<sup>12</sup> but the Carriage I have always been accustomed to charge at the rate I pay, viz. £5 per Ton Weight from Birming<sup>m</sup>. to London by Land, or 2 Guineas per Ton by way of Hull, or still less if shipp'd at Bristol or Liverpool.

I have made 3 Sketches agreeable to your directions which I send you inclosed, but as I observed in a former Letter, the engraving of the dies will be high in proportion to the Number of Figures; and therefore I recommend Simplicity as much as possible.

In regard to the device I do not think myself qualified to speak of it, as I do not clearly see what point you aim at, or what passes in your mind, or why you should prefer Britannia weeping over your plantation, as I hope both you & Britain will have cause to rejoice.

It is a Rule among Medalists to make the shortest inscriptions and the simplest designs, but so as to express more than is actually engraved; always leaving something for the imagination to discover, and as I am persuaded that yours is more fertile than my own in these things, I hope you will allow me to follow your orders.

I am

Sir

Your most humble Serv<sup>t</sup>

Soho, Birmingham

7 Jan<sup>y</sup> 1796

Myddelton replied to Boulton on the 24th of January:

Sir

I sho<sup>d</sup> have replied to yr Letter immediately, had I not been promised an elegant device from an artist of great merit, but you know that people of this description are too often Idle, and so I have found it on the present occasion, I therefore suggest to you the following alteration from my first Idea, Britannia with her head pendant, her spear reversed and leaning on her shield, before her the demons of Discord and tyranny treading under foot the Emblems of Liberty and justice. Legend "Payable by P.P.P. Myddelton" on the reverse. The figure of Liberty holding out her hand to welcome two little genii presented to her by Hope, at the feet of the figure of Liberty the Emblems of peace and Plenty. Legend "British Settlement Kentucky 1796".

As I have fixed the first of March for our departure no time ought to be lost.

I am, Sir

Your Obed. Serv<sup>t</sup>

P.P.P. Myddelton

London Janry 24<sup>th</sup> 96

I have been informed that an advertisement has appeared in a Birmingham paper relative to a portable Threshing & Grinding Machine, can you give me any account of its properties?

[Addressed:] Matthew Boulton Esq<sup>r</sup> / Soho / Birmingham

[Endorsed:] P.P.P. Middleton / Jan 24 - 1796

This letter indicates that Myddelton's ideas concerning the design of his token had changed. His letter of December 31, 1795 described a weeping figure of Britannia with legend "*British Settlemen[t] Kentucky 1796*" as the obverse and on the reverse "*a Centre figure, representing Liberty stretching forth her hands to a smaller figure . . . encircled by 'payable by p.p.p. Myddelton, proprietor'*". This is confirmed by Boulton's description of the proposed design which, as we have seen, was written on the blank side of the same letter.

However, in Myddelton's letter of January 24, 1796 the "*Centre figure*" of his earlier letter, has become "*the figure of Liberty holding out her hand to welcome two little genii presented to her by Hope. . .*" and legend "*British Settlement Kentucky 1796*", while for the **reverse** it describes a somewhat different Britannia with legend "*Payable by P.P.P. Myddelton*".

In other words, while the obverse and reverse legends as first proposed by Myddelton remain basically the same, his original ideas for the obverse and reverse designs have been considerably modified and have in effect changed sides.

A rough draft in Boulton's hand of his reply of February 12 (which was not published by Taxay), is illustrated here. **(fig. 3)** The Sketch which Boulton says he is enclosing has unfortunately not

280.  
 A few days after I rec<sup>d</sup> your fav<sup>r</sup> of 14<sup>th</sup> Jan<sup>y</sup> I caused  
 the enclosed sketch to be made conformable to your description.  
 I desired one of my Clerks to send it to you as I was oblig<sup>d</sup>  
 to go from home on business but to my surprise I  
 find at my return that it has not been sent under  
 pretences too trifling to another agent & I am fear there  
 will not be time sufficient to execute your orders before your  
 departure ~~however~~ particularly as there are so many  
 human figures to engrave in full length.  
 I am sorry to differ with you in opinion but I must acknowledge  
 that ~~the~~ for so small a piece as a half penny there are too  
 many figures, too much intricacy & too little simplicity  
 moreover it will make of itself rather too expensive  
 & again to piece with shifts pass through the hands

of Unskilled persons & the design sh<sup>d</sup> be such as to be  
 easily deciphered & understood by them  
~~suppose~~ Suppose the design A was engraved & on  
 the reverse filled up with any inscription you may  
 think proper & by this means half the time &  $\frac{1}{2}$  the  
 expense of engraving will be saved & no party offended  
 M<sup>th</sup> Myddelton  
 Peace & Liberty to all the World is my constant wish  
 & I should be glad to see you introduced into New  
 without the venoms of discord

Figure 3: Boulton's rough draft of his February 12, 1796 letter to Myddelton. (Birmingham Reference Library, archives department)

survived. The finished letter, which differs in quite a few details from the draft, follows:

M<sup>r</sup> Middleton Feb 12 1796

Sir

A few days after I rec<sup>d</sup> your last fav<sup>r</sup>. of ye 24<sup>th</sup> Jan<sup>y</sup> I caused the inclosed sketch to be made conformable to your description & desired one of our Clarks to send it [to] you as I was obliged to go from home upon our St<sup>m</sup>. Engine business but to my surprise I found at my return that it had not been sent. I now fear there will not be time sufficient to execute your order before your departure particularly as there are so many human figures to Engrave.

I am sorry to differ with you in opinion but I must acknowledge that for so small a piece as a half penny, there are too many figures, too much intricacy, & too little Simplicity which is a beauty in Medals: moreover it will make the Dies rather too Expensive & take more time than I fear you can allow.

Copper ½ pence will chiefly pass through the hands of unletterd persons & the device should be such as to be understood at first sight.

Suppose the design A was engravd & on the Reverse any letter press inscriptions you please.

By that means ½ the time & ½ the Expence will be savd & no party offended.

Peace & Liberty to all the World

is my constant Toast which I should be happy to find was introduced into Kentucky without the demons of Discord & Tyranny or Britannia drooping.

When you speak of the Genii pray do you mean the Genii of any particular arts or Sciences?

Pray inform me what is the longest time you can allow for I assure you it is not possible to engrave the dies by y<sup>e</sup> 1<sup>st</sup> March.

I am Sir

Your most Obed<sup>t</sup> humb<sup>l</sup> Serv<sup>t</sup>

Matt<sup>w</sup> Boulton

Soho Feb 12 - 1796

[Endorsed:] M<sup>r</sup> Middleton / Feb<sup>y</sup> 1796

The same day Myddelton was named in a writ issued by the Chief Justice, Lloyd Lord Kenyon in the name of George III, directing "*the Justices of Gaol Delivery of our Gaol of Newgate*" to:

send under your Seals . . . before Us in Fifteen Days from the Feast Day of Easter . . . all and Singular the said Indictments with all things touching the same by whatsoever Name the said Philip Parry Price Myddleton is called . . . that we may further Cause to be done thereon what of right and according to the Law and Custom of England We shall see fit to be done Witness Lloyd Lord Kenyon at Westminster the Twelfth Day of February in the Thirty sixth Year of our Reign.<sup>13</sup>

Myddelton's brief reply two days later to Boulton's February 12 letter does not mention any legal difficulties.

Sir

I am favored with your letter and lament the delay yet I hope there will be sufficient time between this and the 6<sup>th</sup> of March the day I must sail if the wind serves; the device a will do for one and in order to save time and trouble let B appear on the reverse.

I am,

Sir,

yr. Obed. Serv

P.P.P. Myddelton

London feby 14<sup>th</sup> 1796

[Addressed:] Matthew Boulton Esq / Soho, / Birmingham

[Endorsed:] P.P.P. Myddelton Esq<sup>r</sup> / Feby. 14<sup>th</sup> 1796 London



A few days later, in a draft of an apologetic letter dated February 18, 1796 to Sir George Jackson, for whom Soho was quite late in producing an order for halfpenny tokens,<sup>14</sup> Boulton makes a brief but obvious reference to Myddelton when he writes, *"I have struck a few of your ½ pence which shall be done in a very few weeks although I am hard pressed by a Gent<sup>n</sup>. in the same way who sails for Nantucket the 1<sup>st</sup> week of month"*.

The final letter in the surviving correspondence with Myddelton is Boulton's:

Soho Birmingham 24<sup>th</sup> Feby

1796

Sir

I am hitherto without the favour of your answer to my last<sup>15</sup> and I have so far finished one of the Dies as to be enabled to send you herewith an Impression in lead, and shall be glad to receive your opinion respecting it.

I am now fully convinced of the impossibility of engraving a die for the reverse side in the manner you wish, to be ready before the time of your departure, and therefore beg you will favour me with an Inscription or any simple device for the Reverse, and inform me at the same time, how many you would wish to be struck off.

I am

Sir

Your most Obed<sup>t</sup>. hble Serv<sup>t</sup>.

Matt<sup>w</sup> Boulton

I have inclosed the piece but am apprehensive it will suffer damage, by rubbing, in the conveyance.

At this point, the obverse of the token – Liberty greeting two little genii who are being presented to her by Hope – was sufficiently finished to enable Boulton to supply Myddelton with a soft metal impression of it in lead, but here the correspondence, or at least the surviving portion, ends. Whether Myddelton managed to reply is not known. However, despite Boulton's concern about the lack of time available to finish preparing the dies, Conrad Heinrich Küchler, who had moved to Soho, near Birmingham, the previous year, thereby replacing Noël-Alexandre Ponthon as the Soho Mint's principal engraver,<sup>16</sup> managed to complete the previously suggested design for the reverse die very quickly, as evidenced by an entry in one of the Soho Mint journals.

According to the *Day Book for 1795 to 1798*, the Buckle Company (another of Boulton's companies), was credited as of March 8, 1796 with supplying 19.9.12 weight of standard silver for "53p. Middleton".<sup>17</sup> That is, 19 oz, 9 dwt, 12 gr, (19 ounces, 9 pennyweights, 12 grains) were used to strike 53 silver tokens. Struck from this quantity of silver, each piece should weigh approximately 175 grains (one ounce = 20 pennyweights; one pennyweight = 24 grains), and this corresponds to the actual average observed weight of silver examples.

The Soho Mint's *Medal Ledger*<sup>18</sup> indicates that, on the same day, March 8, Myddelton was charged for "50 silver Kentucky" (of the 53 struck), billing him £5.4.–, or approximately 2 shillings 1 penny each. Of the original 53, three were evidently held aside (perhaps as samples for Boulton and/or Küchler). This entry also indicates that 46 were subsequently returned to Soho, and therefore £4.15.8 was credited to Myddelton's account, leaving a balance outstanding for the four retained pieces of 8 shillings 4 pence.

Although in his letter to Myddelton of February 24 Boulton had stated that he is *"fully convinced of the impossibility of engraving a die for the reverse side in the manner you wish, to be ready before the time of your departure"*, this did not turn out to be the case. It should be noted that

although the **obverse** die did not exist as of February 12, a soft metal (lead) impression of it was forwarded to Myddelton on February 24, only **twelve** days later. Küchler could obviously work with considerable speed when necessary, and from February 24 until March 8, the day the finished silver tokens were struck, there were **thirteen** days available (1796 being a Leap Year), for the engraving of the reverse die and the hardening and striking of the pair of dies.

It is worth observing that the Kentucky token bears neither Küchler's name nor initials, and that documentary evidence for his having engraved it is all but lacking in the Boulton Papers. There is, however, a record of a £30 payment to Küchler as of March 11, 1796.<sup>19</sup> and although there are no details as to what Küchler was paid for, the date strongly suggests that this sum included the cost of the Myddelton dies.

Unfortunately, however, for Myddelton and his coinage and colonization plans, he was soon to be accused of engaging in activities earlier in March which violated a statute enacted in 1783 prohibiting the hiring of talented workmen for employment outside of England.<sup>20</sup>

An indictment states, in part:

Philip parry price Myddelton late of the parish of Saint George Bloomsbury in the County of Middlesex Gentleman being a person of a wicked mind and disposition and having no regard for the Laws and Statutes of this Realm nor fearing the pains and penalties therein contained . . . on the second day of March in the thirty sixth year<sup>21</sup> of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord George the Third King of Great Britain, &c with force and arms at the parish aforesaid in the County aforesaid unlawfully did contract with one John Miles he the said John Miles then and there being a manufacturer workman and artificer<sup>22</sup> of Great Britain in the Manufacture of weaving Linen Cloth then and there being a Manufacture of Great Britain to go out of this Kingdom of Great Britain into a certain foreign country called America such foreign Country not then being within the Dominions of or belonging to the Crown of Great Britain In Contempt of our Lord the King and his Laws against the form of the Statute in such Case made and provided and against the peace of our said Lord the King his Crown and Dignity.<sup>23</sup>

The same indictment states further on, in somewhat different language, that Myddelton "*unlawfully did entice persuade and solicit the said John Miles*", and "*did endeavour to persuade the said John Miles*".

Myddelton was also accused of a similar offense with another individual, being named in a Warrant of Commitment dated March 4, 1796 which states in part:

Middlesex . . . To the Keeper of New Prisoners Clerkenwell or his deputy Receive into your custody the Body of Philip Parry Price Myddelton herewith sent you brought before me Thomas Bernard Esquire one of his Majesty's Justices of the Peace in and for the said County by Barnard Bayley and charged before me the said Justice upon the Oaths of William Neal and others for having Contracted and Seduced him the said William Neal to go out of this Kingdom into a Foreign Country not within the Dominions of or belonging to the Crown of Great Britain he the said William Neal being an Artificer and Workman in making Optical Instruments . . . at the Parish of Saint George in Bloomsbury in the said County Against the Statute &c Him therefore safely keep in your said Custody for want of sureties<sup>24</sup> or until he shall be discharged by due Course of Law, and for so doing this shall be your Sufficient Warrant Given under my hand and Seal this fourth day of March One thousand seven hundred and Ninety Six The Principal in £200 Bail each in £150

[signed] Tho<sup>s</sup> Barnard <sup>25</sup>

Myddelton evidently managed to temporarily obtain his freedom by making bail, because in a letter to Boulton dated March 22, Richard Chippindall, Boulton's London agent, informed him, *"I have seen Mr Myddleton who expects to have Liberty to wait on you in London Street tomorrow Morn<sup>g</sup>. - being admitted to Baile - "*.<sup>26</sup>

Subsequently, a hearing concerning Myddelton was held:

on Tuesday the fifth day of April in the thirty Sixth year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord George the third King of Great Britain &c At the General Session of Oyer and Terminer<sup>27</sup> . . . holden in and for the County of Middlesex at the Session House for the said County . . . to enquire more fully the truth by the Oath of good and lawful Men of the said County of Middlesex and by other Ways means and methods . . . by whom the truth of the Matter might be better known of all Treasons Misprisions of Treasons Insurrections Rebellions Counterfeitings Clippings Washings false Coynings . . . by whomsoever and in what manner soever done committed or perpetrated and by whom or to whom when how and after what manner . . . to hear and determine According to the Laws and Customs of England By the Oath of Twelve Jurors good and Lawful Men of the County aforesaid.<sup>28</sup>

On April 6, Myddelton, who was back in Newgate prison, had his trial removed to the Court of King's Bench according to a writ executed by the Keeper of that prison which repeated some of the language of the earlier indictment concerning his dealings with John Miles, and stated, in part:

I do...certify that at the delivery of the Kings Gaol of Newgate holden for the County of Middlesex at Justice Hall in the Old Bailey in the Suburbs of the City of London on Wednesday the sixth day of April in the thirty sixth year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord George the third King of Great Britain &c The following Order was made VIZ - Philip Parry Price Middleton - Indicted for unlawfully contracting with one John Miles . . . but the Prosecutor producing His Majesty's Writ of Certiorari for removing the said Indictment into his Majesty's Court of Kings Bench the same was allowed and the said Prisoner for want of Sureties was ordered to remain in Gaol to answer the said Indictment unless he should enter into Recognizance with sufficient sureties before the Right Honorable the Lord Mayor for his Personal Appearances in his Majesty's said Court of King's Bench to Answer to the said Indictment Giving to Mr White Solicitor for the Treasury forty eight hours Notice of the Names and Places of abode of the Persons he shall propose to become Bail for him before the same be taken By the Court

Thomas Shelton Clerk of the Session of Gaol delivery

And these are the Causes of the taking and my detaining the said Philip Parry Price Myddleton whose body I have now ready as by the said Writ I am Commanded

John Kirby

Keeper<sup>29</sup>

Subsequently:

on Wednesday next after Fifteen days from the Feast Day of Easter<sup>30</sup> in this same Term before our said Lord the King at Westminster cometh the said Philip Parry Price Myddelton . . . and having heard the said indictment he saith that he is not Guilty thereof. . . Therefore let a Jury thereupon come before our said Lord the King On the Morrow of the Ascension of our Lord<sup>31</sup> . . . by whom the truth of the matter may be the better known and who are not of the kindred of the said Philip Parry Price Myddelton to try upon their Oath Whether the said Philip Parry Price Myddelton be Guilty of the Premises aforesaid or not Guilty.<sup>32</sup>

Two days after Myddelton's plea of not guilty, in a letter of April 15, 1796, Chippindall informed Boulton, "*that he has seen Mr. Middleton in Newgate – & by some curious maneuvering [he] has got hold of most part of the Coins.*"<sup>33</sup>

As Myddelton had already been billed for 50 silver examples the previous month, it is curious that he should have had to resort to some sort of funny business to obtain them. Whatever the reason, we have seen that 46 were subsequently returned to Soho, the majority of which were dispersed during the next few years. (See Appendix B.)

Although Myddelton's intention was for the Soho Mint to supply a considerable quantity of copper tokens for use in his proposed American settlement, there is no evidence that even a single copper example was charged to him. Indeed, only eleven in copper, all of which were dispersed in 1796 and 1797 to other individuals, are listed in the Soho Mint's *Rough Medal Ledger*<sup>34</sup> during the entire period it covers. (See Appendix B.)

The late Walter Breen has stated,<sup>35</sup> "The silver strikings' weight indicates Myddelton intended a florin (2 shillings) denomination, over 50 years before the Tower Mint made any." This statement represents the Breen imagination run riot; there is no mention at all in the correspondence of any requirement for a token coinage in silver. Indeed, would Myddelton, whose evident intention was to utilize a large quantity of copper halfpenny tokens at his proposed settlement in Kentucky have any need at all for silver tokens? The 50 silver specimens (of the 53 struck on or about March 8), must have been intended solely for presentation and/or advertising purposes. In this respect Soho was following its frequent custom of striking a very limited number of silver examples of certain issues in addition to the large quantities struck in copper to fill the actual orders.

Although these silver strikings were debited to Myddelton, we know that he intended to sail for Nantucket early in March. Consequently there would hardly have been time for him to personally distribute these lovely examples of Küchler's die sinking artistry and of the Soho Mint's technical skill. More likely the intention was for Boulton and/or his London agent, Richard Chippindall, to distribute them, some for presentation purposes to influential friends, the others to be sold to collectors and the proceeds credited to Myddelton's account. If this supposition is correct, the 50 silver specimens actually debited to Myddelton on March 8 were probably not intended for his own use and sale, thus accounting for Chippindall's statement that Myddelton has gotten hold of them "*by some curious maneuvering*", although exactly how he accomplished this is not known. In any event, as we have seen, 46 of these 50 pieces were returned to Soho shortly thereafter, leaving only four pieces still debited to Myddelton in the Soho mint *Rough Medal Ledger*.

Why were the 46 pieces returned to Soho at this time rather than being distributed by Boulton and/or Chippindall? No doubt because it would have been politically unwise to do so. The tokens were intimately connected with Myddelton, who was in legal hot water, having been accused of a serious offense – violation of a statute which prohibited the enticing of craftsmen out of Great Britain, and which had in various forms been in effect since as early as 1719. Furthermore, the reverse of the proposed tokens, depicting a mourning or dejected Britannia, might very well have been offensive to English sensibilities. Consequently, distribution at this time would have, at best, reflected poorly on Boulton and his Soho mint. At worst, they might have linked him, albeit incorrectly, with the charges against Myddelton. It was clearly the wiser course not to strike any additional examples, and to return 46 of the silver tokens to Soho, where their fate could be gradually and discreetly determined. (See Appendix B.) While it is possible that Soho destroyed or defaced the dies at this time, I am unaware of any documentary evidence that this was actually done, and indeed, as we shall see, there is evidence that at least one die still existed in 1850.

**Appendix B starts on page 2015.**

In support of the suggestion that Soho handled the Myddelton token with kid gloves, it is necessary to go back a few years and note that, beginning early in 1793, the Soho mint had prepared specimen sets, carefully struck and beautifully bronzed, of the principal copper coins and tokens it had manufactured to date.<sup>36</sup> These were sold to collectors and dealers and distributed to influential friends of Boulton, the sets gradually being added to as time went on and additional types were struck at Soho. However, to the best of my knowledge, a Myddelton token, despite its obvious appeal, was **never included** in these sets. Furthermore, it is omitted from the well-known Circular of Soho tokens and medals which was issued in 1832 to attract business from foreign governments.<sup>37</sup>

Nor were there any examples in the April 1850 sale of the contents of the Soho Mint.<sup>38</sup> It should be noted, however, that lot 265 of this sale is described as “COPPER COMPANY OF UPPER CANADA HALFPENNY, 1796. [my emphasis] *One pair dies and one extra obverse die.*” As will be discussed later in this article, the reverse of the Copper Company of Upper Canada halfpenny token, struck in 1794, was subsequently muled with the 1796-dated obverse of the Myddelton token. Assuming the date given in lot 265 to be accurate, it must have included at least one obverse die of the Myddelton Kentucky token.<sup>39</sup>

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Figure 4: Thomas Erskine, Myddelton’s distinguished, albeit unsuccessful, defense attorney, depicted on the obverse of a silver medal of 1794 engraved by John Milton. Erskine and his co-counsel, Vicary Gibbs, had successfully defended various members of the London Corresponding Society against charges of high treason. (collection of the author)

At the trial Myddelton was represented by Thomas Erskine (**fig. 4**), probably the most prominent defense counsel of his era. Erskine had become famous for his successful defense of the bookseller John Stockdale against a charge of seditious libel, and in 1794 for successfully representing Hardy, Home, Horne Tooke, and Thelwall, who had been charged with sedition in the Parliamentary Reform cases. Perhaps Erskine regarded Myddelton as one more underdog to be defended against the overwhelming prosecutorial resources of the Crown. Whatever his motivation in accepting Myddelton’s case, and despite his great skill as evidenced by his past record, he failed to defend him successfully.⁴⁰

The jury verdict followed soon thereafter:

the Jurors. . . being chosen tried and Sworn to speak the truth touching and Concerning the matters within Contained say upon their Oath that the said Phillip Parry Price Myddelton is Guilty of the Premises in the Indictment within specified and Charged upon him in manner and form as in and by the said Indictment is within alledged against him.⁴¹

Subsequently, on June 1, 1796:

the Sheriff of Middlesex is Comanded by the writ of our said Lord the King. . . that he take the said Philip Parry Price Myddelton if he shall be found in his Bailiwick and him safely keep so that he may have his Body before our said Lord the King at Westminster on Thursday next after fifteen days of the Holy Trinity⁴² to satisfy our said Lord the King for his Redemption on account of the Trespasses Contempts and Misdemeanors whereof he is Indicted and Convicted.⁴³

That is, Myddelton was to be brought before the court for sentencing.

On June 9, 1796 sentence was pronounced, the court ordering:

that he the said Phillip Parry Price Myddelton for his offence aforesaid do Pay to our Sovereign Lord the King the Forfeiture of five Hundred Pounds of lawful Money of Great Britain and that he the said Phillip Parry Price Myddelton be imprisoned in the Common Gaol of the County of Middlesex for the space of Twelve Calendar Months now next ensuing without Bail or Mainprize⁴⁴ and until such Forfeiture shall be paid and he the said Phillip Parry Price Myddelton is by the Court here committed to the Custody of the Keeper of the Gaol at Newgate being the Common Gaol of the said County to be by him kept in safe Custody in Execution of this Judgment.⁴⁵



A convenient summary of the Myddelton trial and sentencing appears in Durnford and East's *Reports of Cases 26 George III - 40 George III*,⁴⁶ and provides some additional details of the court proceedings. Under Thursday, June 9th, 1796 it describes, in part:

The KING *against* MYDDLETON.

The defendant was indicted for that he, within twelve months next before the taking of this inquisition, viz. on 2d March 36 Geo. 3. with force and arms at the parish of *St. George's Bloomsbury* in the county of *Middlesex*, unlawfully did contract with one *John Miles*, he the said *John Miles* then and there being a manufacturer workman and artificer of *Great Britain* in the manufacture of weaving linen cloth then and there being a manufacture of *Great Britain*, to go out of this kingdom of *Great Britain* into a certain foreign country called *America*, such foreign country not then being within the dominion of or belonging to the crown of *Great Britain*; in contempt &c; and against the form of the statute &c.

It was moved in arrest of judgment, 1st. That the words in the indictment were in the copulative "workman *and* artificer," where-as in the statute they are in the disjunctive "or"; but this was abandoned on shewing cause. 2d. That the manufacture mentioned in the indictment was not one of those enumerated in the 23 Geo. 3. c. 13. on which the indictment was founded:⁴⁷ this was also abandoned, the statute saying "*or any other manufacturer*" &c. 3d. That the indictment charged *America* generally to be out of the king's dominions, which is notoriously otherwise; and that the Court will take notice that some parts of *America* are within the dominions of the crown. It ought

to have stated to what country in *America* the manufacturer was enticed. Answer. This was a fact for the jury; or the name of the foreign country may even be rejected as surplusage.

Erskine. . . in support of the rule for arresting the judgments. *Law*⁴⁸ contra.

Per Curiam.⁴⁹ There is no ground for any of the objections. It is alleged in the indictment and found by the jury that the defendant contracted with the manufacturer to go to a foreign country called *America*, not being within the dominions of the crown. Non constat⁵⁰ but that there may be some place called *America*, besides the Continent of *America*. The verdict is conclusive.

A number of London newspapers reported the results of Myddelton's trial on June 10 and 11, among them *The True Briton*, *The Oracle* (which incorrectly reported the prison sentence as two years), *The Morning Post*, and *The St. James's Chronicle*.⁵¹ (See Appendix A.)



Some months after being jailed, on October 15, 1796, Myddelton wrote at length from Newgate to Rufus King, the recently appointed American Minister to the Court of St. James, in London, requesting his help in gaining release from prison.⁵²

Sir,

Having repeatedly had the Honor of meeting you under the Hospitable roof of our Mutual friend Mr Bingham in Philadelphia,⁵³ it would (independently of any interested consideration) have been highly gratifying to me to have had an opportunity of paying my personal respects to you in England, but unfortunately the Iron hand of this Government has for some Months secluded me from all Society without these Walls, it however cannot deprive me of the pleasure I now feel in congratulating you upon your safe arrival in a Kingdom that has lost so many of those blessings which my adopted Country, on the other side of the atlantic, so eminently enjoys.

About Twelve months ago the Death of a near Relation obliged me to return to this Country to adjust my pecuniary accessions, and add the name of Myddelton to my former one (D. Price) during last winter many applications were made to me by people desirous of emigrating to America, and I in consequence engaged a few Hundred (Farmers and Labourers) to reside upon Lands which I had purchased in the State of Kentucky: This Government took the Alarm, and by its Agents bribed one of my Servants, (a German) to give information from time to time at the Secretary of States office, with a view to frustrate my plan at the moment I had (at an enormous expence) brought it to maturity, which was effected in the most unwarrantable way, two days before my intended departure, and afterwards by offering a large reward, procured a pauper in a Workhouse Sixty Miles from London (a Weaver) whom I had inadvertently engaged, to appear against me, for which, on the 7th. of June, I was sentenced to one years imprisonment and a fine of 500£ Sterling.⁵⁴

In my Correspondence, since my Conviction, with one of my Counsel, (Mr. Erskine) who has communicated on the Subject with the Counsel for the Crown, that conducted the prosecution, it is I understand generally acknowledged that my Case is peculiarly hard, as it is now well known that Manufacturers were not my object, which was not at that time apprehended, they therefore jointly and publicly recommend me to apply to Government through the medium of the Minister from the United States, as a certain means of obtaining an immediate pardon; The Mode pointed out by these Gentlemen is an application to the Secretary of State for the Home Department, by whom the Case would be referred to the attorney General, who, Mr Erskine informs me will make a favorable Report.

Mr. Erskine has evinced the strongest inclination to render me service, and has given me a Carte-blanche to make him useful on this occasion.

If Sir, under these Circumstances, which are plain facts, you can interfere, consistently with the Honor of the Nation you represent, and the Dignity of your own official situation, you will oblige

me much, as the recent Death of a near Relation in the 69 Reg^t. of foot in the West Indies, to whose fortune I succeed jointly with my Sister, renders my eshargement⁵⁵ an object of considerable consequence to us both.

I have the Honor to be,
Sir, with Sentiments of esteem and consideration,
Your very Obedient
Humble Servant,
P.P.P. Myddelton.⁵⁶

State Side Newgate
Oct: 15th 1796

[endorsed on back:] D Middleton
Prisoner
Oct^r 15-1796

Unfortunately for Myddelton, this letter seems to have brought no response, or certainly no result, as the relevant legal papers at the PRO indicate that Myddelton, who was sentenced to one year's confinement, or until his fine was paid, actually languished in jail for more than three years, the fine at last being paid in November 1799, at which time it was declared:

on Wednesday next after fifteen Days of Saint Martin in Michaelmas Term in the thirty ninth Year of the Reign of our said Lord the King before our said Lord the King at Westminster cometh Sir John Scott Knight Attorney General of our said Lord the King in his Proper Person And for our said Lord the King acknowledgeth our said Lord the King to be satisfied by the said Philip Parry Price Myddelton of the aforesaid five hundred Pounds so adjudged by his Court to be by him forfeited as aforesaid Therefore Let him the said Philip Parry Price Myddelton of the aforesaid five hundred Pounds towards our said Lord the King go quit.⁵⁷

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What precisely were Myddelton's colonization plans, and exactly where would his settlement have been located? This remains uncertain. A thorough examination of *The Kentucky Gazette* for this period turned up no reference at all to Myddelton (or Price).<sup>58</sup> Furthermore, a letter from The Filson Club Historical Society of Louisville, Kentucky, written after consultation with the Kentucky Land Office in Frankfort, suggests in part, "this is most likely a scam, and Mr. Myddelton did not have clear title to any lands".<sup>59</sup>

Despite these negative findings and the tentative opinion of The Filson Club Historical Society, it is difficult to believe that Myddelton would go to the trouble of ordering quantities of copper tokens from Boulton ostensibly for use in Kentucky and, more significantly, would be willing to suffer pretrial incarceration followed by a trial which resulted in his conviction and a lengthy prison sentence and large fine, if his colonization plans were merely a hoax.

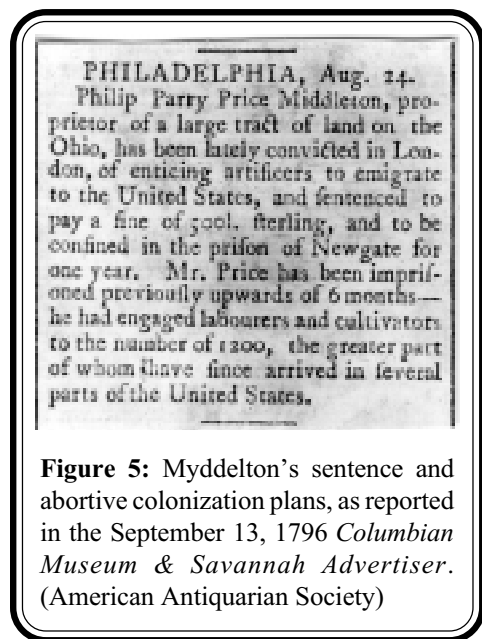
Moreover, a contemporary published report in the September 13, 1796 issue of the *Columbian Museum & Savannah Advertiser*<sup>60</sup> provides a few additional details which tend to support the reality of his colonization plans and actual ownership of land in Kentucky:

PHILADELPHIA, Aug. 24.

Philip Parry Price Middleton, proprietor of a large tract of land on the Ohio, has been lately convicted in London, of enticing artificers to emigrate to the United States, and sentenced to pay a fine of 500 l. sterling, and to be confined in the prison of Newgate for one year.



Mr. Price has been imprisoned previously upwards of 6 months – he had engaged labourers and cultivators to the number of 1200, the greater part of whom have since arrived in several parts of the United States.<sup>61</sup> (fig. 5)



**Figure 5:** Myddelton's sentence and abortive colonization plans, as reported in the September 13, 1796 *Columbian Museum & Savannah Advertiser*. (American Antiquarian Society)

Also lending support to the legitimacy of Myddelton's plans is his inquiry, in the postscript of his letter to Boulton of January 24, 1796, concerning a portable threshing and grinding machine, exactly the kind of equipment that would have been useful in a farming settlement.<sup>62</sup>

It is possible that Myddelton was associated with other individuals or with a company that held title to the land in Kentucky in another name, but whether this is so or not, it seems far more likely than unlikely that Myddelton had an actual ownership interest in land that he proposed to settle.

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As a postscript to Myddelton's story, in 1806, some seven years after he was finally released from prison, he became involved, this time as plaintiff, in another lawsuit. The transcript of a trial for slander in an unrelated matter brought by Myddelton can be found

in a pamphlet in the British Library.⁶³ While most of the details of Myddelton's ultimately unsuccessful lawsuit do not concern us, the transcript does make numerous references to his earlier legal troubles:

One of Myddelton's attorneys, Mr. Serjeant Best, states:

The Plaintiff from various circumstances, some of which will be touched upon in the course of this Cause, has been a good deal beaten up and down in life..

He then goes on to tell the jury:

it is necessary I should take notice of some circumstances which have occurred in the life of this Gentleman, because, although they have, in reality, nothing to do with this case, yet his candour induces him to submit them to yours . . . I am ready to admit, that Doctor Myddelton has been guilty of that, which, in point of Law, amounts to an offence, and for that he has suffered its punishment; for that he is not answerable to the Defendant; nor to any of his Majesty's subjects, having endured the Judgment of the Law of his Country. – He has been punished, and shall it be said, that because a man has once done that which was wrong, that is, prohibited by Law, whether immoral in itself or not, for many things are prohibited by policy without being immoral in themselves; but shall it be said, I ask, that because a man has once done that which is wrong, and has suffered the punishment of the Law, any one may say what he pleases of him? . . . and therefore I say, that whatever was the conduct of this Gentleman formerly, it is no reason why the Defendant should revile him now.

Still later Mr. Serjeant Best declares:

I do not mean to justify Doctor Myddelton on the present occasion, in what he did in the misconduct to which I have referred; for I am his Counsel on the present occasion, and not upon the former one. – He fell under the provision of a Law; wisely or unwisely enacted, is not a question to be discussed here; it is the duty of every subject to obey it, because it is the Law; and yet I will venture to say, there is in the common feeling, which is directed by the common sense of mankind, a great difference between an offence against a Law which is founded on the pure principles of morality, for the protection of virtue by the discouragement of vice, and an offence against a Law, which has no such foundation, but is a mere matter of policy of state. Disobedience to the one does not affect the moral character of a man so much as disobedience to the other. Now the Law which this Gentleman has been found to disobey is not a Law bottomed on any principle of morality, but a mere policy of state. He having considerable landed property in America, thought he had a right to take a person from this country to cultivate lands in America, for he had undoubtedly a considerable estate there; he therefore engaged with a person to go to that country for that purpose; this happens to be a thing prohibited by an Act of Parliament; upon this Act he was convicted and punished; so that he has suffered the punishment of the Law for what he did . . . I know you will say that whatever the Law is, it ought not to be disobeyed, – I admit it, but this Gentleman has been punished for it, and has therefore paid the price of his disobedience.

It seems highly unlikely that ten years after his original trial Myddelton would still be accepting responsibility for attempting to lure workmen to America if he didn't actually own property there and if his Kentucky plans were only a hoax.

The transcript of this trial also includes a brief physical description of Myddelton. In the absence of any known portrait, this is probably as close as we will ever come to some idea of his appearance: "Dr. Myddelton⁶⁴ is a thin man, about 5 feet 10 inches high, with high cheek bones, of rather genteel appearance, has a little of the Yankee Dialect (being an American) and generally wears a light coloured coat".⁶⁵



Catalogue of Myddelton's Kentucky Tokens Produced at Matthew Boulton's Soho Mint

Obverse: BRITISH SETTLEMENT KENTUCKY. The figure of Hope, an anchor behind her, presents two little genii, a girl and a boy, to a welcoming Liberty, who is holding a pole surmounted by a Phrygian cap; emblems of Peace and Plenty on the ground are on either side of her, a wreath and a branch in front and a cornucopia behind; in the exergue the date: 1796.

Reverse: PAYABLE BY P.P.P. MYDDELTON., Britannia draped, seated dejectedly, her head cast down, her left arm leaning on a shield, her right hand holding a spear which is inverted; a broken balance-scale, a sword, and a fasces are at her feet; a small liberty cap pushes up from the ground on the extreme left.

Various cataloguers have interpreted the reverse design as an allusion to Britain's loss of its American colonies,⁶⁶ or even more specifically, as a reference to her defeat at Yorktown.⁶⁷ I don't believe the symbolism of the obverse and reverse designs lends itself to such precise interpretations; the sentiment seems to be a more general one – America, in the guise of Hope, represents freedom, plenty, and opportunity, while a mourning or dejected Britannia symbolizes an old and tired land devoid of justice and liberty (particularly prescient in view of Myddelton's subsequent misfortunes).

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(collection of the author)

**1. White metal** (lead or tin or a combination of the two metals), uniface trial impression of completed obverse die. Probably prepared in late February 1796, before the hardening of the die. Obtained by the writer with a group of other Soho trial pieces in London in 1986. Possibly unique. Breen unlisted. [Shown 1.5X actual size.]

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(formerly in the stock of James D. King)

2. White metal (lead or tin or a combination of the two), uniface trial impression of incomplete reverse die, lacking legend and beaded denticles. Prepared in late February or early March 1796. Possibly unique. Breen 1075. [Shown 1.5X actual size.]



(collection of Dr. Charles J. Rekow)

3. Silver, 53 struck on March 8, 1796. It seems likely that this was the total mintage in this metal, all of which, based on surviving examples, were of proof quality. Myddelton was charged 2/1 each for those billed to his account; other buyers were charged 2/6 each. Crosby, p. 344 (175 grains); Breen 1073 (173.7-180 grains). Plain edge. Obverse-reverse relationship: $\uparrow\downarrow$ (coin axis). [Shown 1.5X actual size.] (See Appendix B.)

I believe that the earliest commercial (i.e., public sale) appearance of a silver example was in the auction catalogue of the James Bindley collection (London, Mr. Sotheby, March 3, 1819, and seven following days), in which, under the heading, "STATES OF AMERICA, IN SILVER", lot 601 included, ". . . a Pattern for a coin for Kentucky, 1796, by Knuckler [sic];".

Some additional auction appearances:⁶⁸

- ♦ 174.8 grains. Garrett collection, Part 3, October 1-2, 1980, lot 1527 (Bowers and Ruddy Galleries);
- ♦ 173.7 grains. John L. Roper, 2nd collection, December 8-9, 1983, lot 349 (Stack's);
- ♦ 179.6 grains. Norweb collection, Part I, October 12-13, 1987, lot 1402 (Auctions by Bowers and Merena);
- ♦ 174.5 grains. Oechsner collection, September 8-9, 1988, lot 1365 (Stack's);
- ♦ 174.9 grains. Marvin P. Matlock, M.D. and other properties, March 21-22, 1991, lot 1044 (Auctions by Bowers and Merena);
- ♦ 175.0 grains. September 9-10, 1998, lot 91 (Stack's);
- ♦ 175.3 grains. Walter collection, May 4, 1999, lot 1703 (Stack's).



(American Numismatic Society, ex Norweb collection)

4. Copper, bronzed, all of proof quality. From identical obverse and reverse dies as the silver, and probably struck March 8 or a few days later, but considerably rarer. No mintage figures have been found, but eleven pieces were sold (for sixpence each) or otherwise disposed of in 1796 and 1797; the *Soho Rough Medal Ledger 1793* -, which covers the period until 1819 does not list any others. It has recently been suggested that eight to ten examples exist.⁶⁹ Crosby, p. 344 (177 grains); Breen 1074 (161.4-177 grains). Plain edge. Obverse-reverse relationship: ↑↓ (coin axis). [Shown 1.5X actual size.] (See Appendix B.)

Weights noted:

- ♦ 164.7 grains, A.N.S. collection, ex Norweb;
- ♦ 161.4 grains, Garrett collection, Part 3, October 1-2, 1980, lot 1526 (Bowers and Ruddy Galleries);
- ♦ 170.4 grains, John L. Roper, 2nd collection, December 8-9, 1983, lot 350 (Stack's);
- ♦ 173.1 grains, Norweb collection, Part I, October 12-13, 1987, lot 1401 (Auctions by Bowers and Merena);
- ♦ 159.4 grains, John Jay Pittman collection, October 21-23, 1997, lot 121 (David Akers Numismatics).
- ♦ 171.1 grains, Walter collection, May 4, 1999, lot 1704 (Stack's).

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(American Numismatic Society, ex Norweb collection)<sup>70</sup>

**5. Copper**, mule of the obverse of the Myddelton token of 1796 and the reverse of the Copper Company of Upper Canada halfpenny token of 1794.<sup>71</sup> Crosby, p. 344 (166 grains); Breen 1076 (138.2-166 grains). Plain edge. Obverse-reverse relationship: ↑↑ (medal axis). [Shown 1.5X actual size.]

The original half penny tokens proposed for Upper Canada (not to be confused with the struck copies made for J. Rochelle Thomas a century later) were engraved in 1794 by Noël-Alexandre Ponthon.<sup>72</sup> It might be pointed out that while the 1794 halfpenny token for Upper Canada is correctly attributed to Ponthon, it would probably be more accurate to give him credit only for the obverse; the reverse die, consisting solely of letter-press work, would not require the services of an engraver and may actually have been sunk by James Lawson, one of Boulton's key employees at the Soho mint.<sup>73</sup>

Weights noted:

- ♦ 166.74 grains, A.N.S. collection, ex Norweb;
- ♦ 138.2 grains, John L. Roper, 2nd collection, December 8-9, 1983, lot 351 (Stack's);
- ♦ 135.5 grains, Gilbert Steinberg collection, October 17, 1989, lot 178 (Stack's);
- ♦ 161.88 grains, Greenwald and Jackson collections, September 11-13, 1995, lot 3260 (Auctions by Bowers and Merena).

Different dates for the striking of this mule, ranging all the way from 1796 until well into the 19th century, have been proposed by various authors and cataloguers; some have even suggested that it was struck outside the Soho mint, and most seem to believe that, being very rare, it was a mule created specifically for sale to collectors.

McLachlan, who supposes it to be a concoction struck for token collectors, says, "The mule in question was struck between the years 1796 and 1800; for after the latter date there was no longer any great demand by collectors for mules, the market having been, by that time, glutted with all forms of nondescripts of this class".<sup>74</sup>

Ford writes, "The Myddelton-Company mule, combining the two reverses, was undoubtedly made during the craze for tokens which prevailed in England, 1794-97, or even a few years thereafter. It was perhaps, a production of Young, Till and Taylor, the two former dealers in coins and medals, who according to Davis muled Boulton's dies somewhat extensively". Further on, Ford says, "The mule is probably an authentic restrike manufactured at an early date solely for the collecting fraternity".<sup>75</sup>

Taxay states, "The mule of the Myddelton and Copper Company of Upper Canada reverses was made by Boulton & Watt as a presentation piece, circa 1806-10. It has nothing to do with either of the original tokens."<sup>76</sup> Rulau states in very similar language, "About 1806-1810 Boulton & Watt muled the Myddelton and Upper Canada dies to create presentation pieces. . .".<sup>77</sup>

Vice writes, "During the second half of the nineteenth century many ex-Soho Mint dies were being used for restriking purposes . . . one of the coins which seemed to emanate from this source was a mule showing the obverse of the Copper company token and the reverse of a 1796 British Settlement of Kentucky token". He further states that "this coin first began to appear on the open market in the 1860's", and attributes its manufacture specifically to the notorious restriking activities of W. J. Taylor, circa 1862 to 1885.<sup>78</sup>

Breen says, "The mules with the COPPER COMPANY OF UPPER CANADA rev. were made by coiners at the Soho Mint a few years later. . . as samples".<sup>79</sup>

Doty writes:

In the case of the Myddelton/Upper Canada mule, a restruck concoction by Taylor is definitely suggested. Photographs of the piece indicate rust spots, which is precisely what one encounters on other Taylor restrikes, pieces made decades after their purported date. Additionally, coins, tokens, and medals made at Soho, even those manufactured beyond their stated date, tend to have an internal consistency. Put another way, there are very few mules in the legitimate Soho series. This piece, with not one but two unrelated American references, strains credulity; the Soho coiners simply did not embrace that sort of practice. In my opinion, this hybrid is a later concoction, done outside the Soho Mint.<sup>80</sup>

Alexander and DeLorey state, "Copper Company of Upper Canada mules are collectors' pieces struck in 1806-10".<sup>81</sup>

A recent fixed price catalogue says, "It is believed that this and related pieces were struck circa 1802-1803 as samples of the engraving skills of the Soho Mint. . .".<sup>82</sup>

The variety of these writers' views and the apparent lack of specific documentary evidence supporting any of them emboldens me to present another possible scenario as to when and why the mules were first struck. To begin with, a careful examination of the Norweb specimen at the American Numismatic Society indicates that its obverse (the Kentucky side) and, perhaps more importantly, its reverse (the Canada side) show **no evidence** of having been struck from dies which had deteriorated from their condition when the obverse of the 1796 Myddelton token, and the reverse of the 1794 Copper Company of Upper Canada token were initially struck. The noticeable raised pimple on the reverse of the mule, to the right of and slightly higher than the base of the Y in COMPANY, is exactly like that which is **already present** on the reverse of original strikings of the 1794 token. Furthermore, the mule, in my opinion, has a decided Soho Mint "look" or fabric, and I very much doubt that it was struck elsewhere.

The Soho Mint under Matthew Boulton seems to have been scrupulous in not deliberately creating rare varieties.<sup>83</sup> Could there therefore be another explanation for this un Soho-like muling of two unrelated dies? I think it may be found most clearly in Boulton's letter to Myddelton of February 12, 1796, in which, having preached the benefits of simplicity of design, especially on a halfpenny intended for use by the general populace, he suggests for its reverse, "*any letter press inscriptions you please*". This suggestion is precisely exemplified by the reverse of the Copper Company of Upper Canada half penny token, and thus the mule combines an elaborate obverse design with a very simple reverse, exactly as recommended by Boulton, who also advocated simplicity of design in his letters of January 7 and February 24.

Rather than a mule created some years later, I suggest that at least some, if not all, of these pieces were initially struck in 1796, at the Soho Mint, not as concocted rarities for sale to collectors, but as practical examples of Boulton's feelings about halfpenny design. While documentary evidence for this supposition is lacking (as it is for the various other views quoted above), it does have the merit of being based on actual examination of the mule,<sup>84</sup> combined with a reasonable explanation for its existence supplied by the relevant correspondence.

The very limited number of mules listed above indicates that they were struck on flans of basically two different weights – lighter examples of 135.5 and 138.2 grains, and heavier ones of 161.88 and 166.74 grains; the latter are within the observed weight range of the 1796 Myddelton token in copper. What significance, if any, there is in the existence of lighter and heavier examples remains to be seen.<sup>85</sup>



### Conclusions

- ♦ The intended mintage of copper tokens for Kentucky for the account of Philip Parry Price Myddelton was halted before it reached fruition due to Myddelton's legal problems. The bulk of the very limited number, mostly in silver, that were actually struck were returned to Soho and gradually, one might even say discreetly, distributed, due to their close connection with an individual who was convicted of serious violations of the law, as well as their unsympathetic design from an English point of view.
- ♦ At least some, perhaps all, of the Myddelton/Copper Company of Upper Canada mules were struck at the Soho mint as early as 1796, not as rare mules created for collectors, but as examples of Matthew Boulton's ideas on the proper design for copper halfpenny tokens, which are so clearly expressed in some of his letters to Myddelton.
- ♦ Despite the absence of any reference to Price/Myddelton in *The Kentucky Gazette*, and the negative opinion of the Filson Club of Louisville as to his actually owning land in Kentucky, there is much evidence to the contrary, including: the existence of the tokens themselves; Myddelton's request for information on machinery suitable for farming; his trial and sentence for attempting to lure craftsmen out of England; the news article in the *Columbian Museum and Savannah Advertiser* which adds a few details concerning his property on the Ohio river; statements in Myddelton's letter to Rufus King describing his having engaged settlers for lands he owned in Kentucky; and extensive references in the 1807 trial to his admission of guilt and punishment for violating the statute of 1783. The cumulative weight of this evidence supports the reality of his plans and of his Kentucky landholdings. CNL



## Appendix A

### Myddelton's Sentence, as Reported in Various London Newspapers

***The True Briton***, Friday, June 10, 1796:

LAW REPORT. COURT OF KING'S BENCH, JUNE 9

Mr. *Middleton*, who was convicted, in the Sittings after last Hilary Term,<sup>86</sup> of seducing Artificers out of this Kingdom, was brought up to receive Judgment.

Previous to the Court passing Sentence, Mr. Erskine endeavoured to arrest the Judgment, upon the ground of a Defect in the Indictment; it charged the Defendant with seducing Artificers out of this Kingdom to America, out of His Majesty's Dominions; Mr. Erskine contended, that as His Majesty had Dominions in America, the Indictment should have specified the part of America to which they were to go.

Mr. LAW was proceeding, on the part of the Prosecution, to reply to Mr. ERSKINE, when he was stopped by the Court, who were of the opinion that there was no ground to arrest the Judgment.

Mr. Justice ASHURST then proceeded to pass Sentence upon Mr. Middleton, which was - That he should be imprisoned one Year, and pay a fine of 500 l.

***The Oracle, Public Advertiser***, Friday, June 10, 1796:

COURT OF KING'S BENCH

THURSDAY, JUNE 9.

ARTIFICERS

THE KING v. MIDDLETON.

The Defendant was convicted [in] the Sittings after last term, on an indictment for enticing artificers, out of the kingdom.

Mr. ERSKINE was now heard in arrest of judgment, and contended that the indictment was insufficient, as it said that he enticed them to go to America out of His Majesty's dominions, "whereas part of his domains are in America."

Mr. LAW spoke in support of the indictment, and said that the word America might be considered as merely surplusage, and the remainder of the indictment would be a sufficient description of the offence to support the conviction.

The Court overruled the objection to the indictment, and pronounced the judgment assigned by the Act of Parliament, namely that the Defendant do pay a fine of 500 l. and be imprisoned two years, and until the fine be paid.

***The Morning Post; Fashionable World***, Friday, June 10, 1796:

COURT OF KING'S BENCH

THURSDAY, JUNE 9

Parry Price Middleton was brought up, and received the judgment of the Court, upon a conviction for enticing Artificers out of the kingdom, contrary to the Statute. The sentence was, that he pay a fine of 500 l. and suffer twelve months imprisonment.

***The St. James's Chronicle; or British Evening Post***

Thursday, June 9, to Saturday, June 11, 1796:

In the Court of King's Bench yesterday, Parry Price Middleton was brought up, and received the judgement of the Court, upon a conviction for enticing Artificers out of the Kingdom, to America, contrary to the Statute. The sentence was, that he pay a fine of 500 l. and suffer twelve months' imprisonment.

## Appendix B

Of the 53 silver tokens struck on March 8, 1796, 50 were charged to Myddelton, and subsequently 46 of these were returned to Soho.

Distribution of Myddelton's Kentucky tokens in **silver**, taken from the Soho mint's *Medal Ledger*, 1793-1816 and/or the *Mint Book* [Number 4] *Day Book Mint 1795-1798*:

|              |                                                   | number of<br>examples |
|--------------|---------------------------------------------------|-----------------------|
| <b>1796</b>  | purchaser or recipient                            |                       |
| March 8      | PPP Myddelton                                     | 4*                    |
| March 19     | per Harper for London<br>Journey [for M.Boulton?] | 1                     |
| August 27    | G. H. Barker Esqr.                                | 1                     |
| September 19 | Mr. Percy                                         | 1                     |
| November 15  | Revd. Mr. Blick                                   | 2                     |
| December 27  | Barker Junr.                                      | 1                     |
| <b>1797</b>  |                                                   |                       |
| January 9    | Hy Young<br>[via Richd. Chippindall]              | 1                     |
| January 24   | Revd. Mr. Blick                                   | 1                     |
| February 27  | Mr. Howlette                                      | 1                     |
| April 24     | Ed. W. Percy                                      | 8                     |
| August 22    | Sir J. Banks                                      | 1                     |
| November 11  | not named                                         | 1                     |
| <b>1798</b>  |                                                   |                       |
| July 7       | G. Paul                                           | 1                     |
| October 8    | Revd. Mr. Blick                                   | 6                     |
| <b>1799</b>  |                                                   |                       |
| November 1   | Mw. Young<br>[via Rd. Chippindall]                | 12**                  |
| <b>1805</b>  |                                                   |                       |
| March 2      | J. Phillp, Library                                | <u>1</u><br>43        |

Dispersal of Myddelton Kentucky tokens in **bronzed copper**, as per *Medal Ledger*, 1793-1816:

|             |                                                   |                |
|-------------|---------------------------------------------------|----------------|
| <b>1796</b> |                                                   |                |
| March 19    | per Harper for London<br>Journey [for M.Boulton?] | 1              |
| December 22 | MB Esqr.                                          | 4              |
| <b>1797</b> |                                                   |                |
| January 26  | G. H. Barker Esqr.                                | <u>6</u><br>11 |

\* (50 originally charged, less 46 returned).

\*\* (There is a section of the *Medal Ledger*, 1793-1816 headed "Silver Medals &" (pp. 99-101), which includes some additional listings of silver Kentucky tokens delivered, most of them duplicating earlier entries in the same ledger book. While it lists a single silver Kentucky token for M. Young on November 1, 1799, it omits the dozen billed to him the same day which were listed earlier. I believe the later entry may be in error and therefore have not added it to the dozen already listed).

Of the various purchasers, recipients, etc., Myddelton, Boulton, and Chippindall need no further comment. Sir Joseph Banks was, of course, the famous naturalist, president for many years of the Royal Society; Henry and Matthew Young, father and son, were coin and medal dealers, the latter being the leading dealer of his era. George Hollington Barker, and his son George, E.W. Percy, and the Reverend Mr. Blick were collectors and/or dealers, who, judging from other sale records, were frequent Soho customers. Harper was evidently an employee of Boulton. John Phillp, who became a talented coin engraver, and produced some fine drawings of the Soho Manufactory and its environs in 1796, was rumored to have been Matthew Boulton's illegitimate son. The Kentucky token which he received was evidently intended for the library of Soho House, Boulton's residence until his death in 1809.

### Notes and References

1. Sylvester S. Crosby, *The Early Coins of America*, Boston, 1875, p. 344. Later observers might feel that certain coinage designs created since Crosby made his comment - the Saint-Gaudens double eagle, Fraser's buffalo nickel, and Weinman's walking liberty half dollar, to name a few - are equally worthy of praise.

2. Don Taxay, 'The Myddelton Token', *Coinage*, June 1970, pp. 60-62, 84.

3. Other research by Taxay had revealed that Myddelton was an Englishman, that his original name was Philip Parry Price, and that as of 1794 he was practicing medicine under this name in Philadelphia.

4. This correspondence is part of the extraordinary Matthew Boulton Papers, now deposited in the archives department of the Birmingham Central Reference Library (henceforth BRL). These papers, and those of his son and heir, Matthew Robinson Boulton, were originally purchased by the Birmingham Assay Office from their descendants, the Misses Boulton of Tew Park, Oxfordshire, in the early 1920s. They were kept at the Assay Office until 1974, when they were transferred to the BRL (see *Birmingham City Archives Annual Report 1994-1995*, pp. 5-6).

The writer is grateful to the former and present principal archivists of the BRL, John Warner-Davis and Nicholas Kingsley, respectively, and their colleagues, who have been unfailingly courteous and helpful to me.

Material from the Matthew Boulton Papers is used by kind permission of the Matthew Boulton Trust.

5. The portions not published by Taxay which are illustrated in this article consist of a description of the Kentucky token based on Myddelton's suggestions, which is written in Boulton's hand on the blank side of Myddelton's letter of December 31, 1795, and an initial draft of Boulton's letter of February 12, 1796. Valuable as Taxay's article is, these omissions, along with some brief but relevant passages in other letters that are not cited, indicate that he must have conducted his research by correspondence, without having actually visited the Birmingham Assay Office, at that time the repository of the Matthew Boulton Papers, to examine them at first hand.

6. New-York Historical Society (NYHS), Rufus King Papers.

7. The various legal documents dealing with Myddelton from the Court of King's Bench (henceforth KB) were originally held at London's Public Record Office, Chancery Lane (henceforth PRO), where they were first examined by this writer; some or all have since been transferred to the PRO's Kew facility.

The relevant documents and the categories under which they are found are: KB10/49 (*Indictments – London and Middlesex*), KB16/21 (*Records of Orders and Writs Returned*), and KB28/377 (*Pleas before . . . the King at Westminster*). A few brief references to the Myddelton court proceedings are also included under KB15/5 (*Appearance Book*), KB15/17 (*Notice of Trial Book*), and KB15/27 (*Process Book*).

8. It should be noted that Matthew Boulton was the **sole owner** of the Soho Mint, and on a number of occasions specified that he had no partner in the coinage business. Because of the justly famous Boulton and Watt partnership in the steam engine business, innumerable writers have referred incorrectly to the early Soho Mint as "Boulton and Watt's Soho Mint".

9. Richard Margolis, 'Matthew Boulton's French Ventures of 1791 and 1792: Tokens for the Monneron Frères of Paris and Isle de France', *The British Numismatic Journal*, vol. 58, 1988, pp. 102-109, plates 30-32.

10. As previously noted, the main body of Matthew Boulton's personal papers were deposited in the Assay Office, Birmingham, in the 1920s and subsequently transferred to the BRL. However, when Boulton's last descendant, Major Eustace Robb, died in 1985 a great deal of material, including documents and some numismatic items, still remained at Tew Park in Oxfordshire, the home since 1815 of Boulton's son, Matthew Robinson Boulton, and his descendants. The writer was able to visit the house on October 29, 1985 and view certain items before the bulk of the contents, principally the furniture, the library, and numerous architectural drawings, was sold at Christie's in 1986 and 1987. The material not sold by Christie's, which I believe is still owned by the heir to Major Robb's estate, has not, to the best of my knowledge, been available to researchers. It is therefore remotely possible that, along with other correspondence, the missing letter of December 22, 1795 from Myddelton to Boulton may still exist.

11. BRL, Letter Box M2, nos. 276-282. I have made no changes in or editorial comments on the spelling in the Boulton/Myddelton correspondence, even if it does not correspond to current usage. There was much less orthographic uniformity in the eighteenth century, and just because a particular word was spelled differently then than now does not mean that it is incorrect.

I have, however, occasionally provided additional punctuation where it is needed to improve the clarity of a passage, and I have spelled out the tailed "p", whenever it is used, as: "per."

12. In 1791 and 1792 Boulton had supplied some 183 tons of tokens to the Monneron Frères of Paris (see BRL, *B Coinage Invoices from 18th Febr'y 1792 unto*, pp. 9-13).

13. PRO, KB 10/49.

14. BRL, Letter Box J, no.31. The ½ penny tokens for Sir George Jackson were the 1795-dated pieces for his navigational company in Bishop's Stortford, Hertfordshire.

15. As Myddelton had replied on February 14 to Boulton's February 12 letter, Boulton's statement of February 24 that he had not received a reply to his last might indicate that he had written an additional letter to Myddelton which is now lost.

**16.** On K  chler see Graham Pollard, 'Matthew Boulton and Conrad Heinrich K  chler', *Numismatic Chronicle*, Seventh Series, Vol. X, 1970, pp. 259-318, plates XIX-XXIV. This is a first-rate study of the talented German engraver who began working for Boulton in 1793 while living in London, before moving to Soho in 1795. The article makes no mention of his having engraved the Myddelton token because the archival material on which the article is based contains information only on K  chler's medalllic productions.

Pollard's own copy of this article, to which he had added many manuscript notes, was kindly loaned by him to the writer, but there is no mention of the Myddelton token in any of these additional notes.

**17.** BRL, *Mint Book* [Number 4], *Day Book Mint, 1795-1798*, p. 25. This entry, although crediting the Buckle Co. as of March 8, was actually made on May 14.

**18.** BRL, *Medal Ledger, 1793-1816* [Soho notebook 69], p.73. The full title is: *1793 to 1816 A Medal Ledger of Medals, Coins, &c &c furnished to Sundry Persons from the Soho Mint within the above dates.*

**19.** BRL, *Soho M Boulton Cash Book 1795 to 1797*, p. 60. I thank David Vice for confirming the absence of specific documentation in the Matthew Boulton papers linking K  chler to the Myddelton token.

**20.** It may be worth noting that in 1783 the great ceramacist, Josiah Wedgwood, delivered *An address to the workmen in the pottery on the subject of entering into the service of foreign manufacturers*. Is it just coincidence that a statute was enacted the very year that one of England's most prominent manufacturers was addressing this serious problem?

**21.** *i.e.*, March 2, 1796.

**22.** Artificer: a skilled worker or craftsman.

**23.** PRO, KB 10/49.

**24.** Sureties: assurances or guarantees, as, to stand surety for an appearance in court.

**25.** PRO, KB 16/21, part B. This is included in the response to a writ by the Sheriff of the County of Middlesex.

KB 16/21, part A is the response by the Keeper of Newgate Gaol, and specifies additional charges against Myddelton. He had been detained in Newgate Gaol "*to answer to Isaac Blight on a plea of Trespass and also to his bill against the said Philip Parry Price for breach of Covenant to the damage of the said Isaac of Two thousand one Hundred pounds. . .*". He was also accused of similar offenses against seven other named individuals, but in the event was not tried for any of these.

Moreover, just as Myddelton was not tried on these charges, he was not tried for attempting to entice the optical instrument worker, William Neal, out of the country; he was tried solely for his attempted engagement of John Miles, the weaver of linen cloth, and it was this latter indictment specifically, as we shall see, that was moved by writ of certiorari into the court of King's Bench for trial. I have been unable to find any specific explanation for this selective prosecution in the King's Bench documents at the PRO, so can only conclude that of the various indictments against Myddelton the one involving John Miles best combined seriousness of offense with provability.

26. BRL, Chippindall Letter Box, no. 88. The choice of London Street for a meeting with Boulton is significant; this was the location of the home and warehouse of Mrs. Charlotte Matthews, widow of William Matthews, who had been Boulton's close friend and banker. Boulton stayed with them at their previous home and office in Green Lettuce Lane during his frequent visits to London. When Mrs. Matthews, who had continued her late husband's close personal and business relationship with Boulton, relocated to new premises (at the corner of London and Fenchurch streets), Boulton made them his London office. For further details see Richard Doty's recently published, highly definitive *The Soho Mint & the Industrialization of Money*, pp. 48-49. London, 1998.

27. "Oyer and Terminer" – a commission empowering judges, to "inquire, **hear and determine**" all treasons, felonies, and misdemeanors; in other words, an inquest or hearing.

28. PRO, KB 28/377 (and in somewhat different form in PRO, KB 10/49).

KB 28/377 is the most extensive of the relevant documents at the PRO. It describes Myddelton's legal proceedings retroactively and chronologically. Beginning with the hearing of April 5 it then presents his indictment for illegally attempting to entice a weaver, John Miles, to leave England, his plea of not guilty, his subsequent conviction and sentencing, and, considerably later, his release from prison.

29. PRO, KB 16/21, part B.

30. According to Peter Kempson's (Birmingham) calendar medal for 1796, this was Wednesday, April 13. I am indebted to John Whitmore for supplying me with an example of this medal.

31. The Morrow of the Ascension of our Lord: Thursday, May 12, 1796.

32. PRO, KB 28/377.

33. BRL, Chippindall Box, no.90.

34. BRL, *Medal Ledger, 1793-1816*, pp. 9, 77, 84.

35. Walter Breen, *Complete Encyclopedia of U.S. and Colonial Coins*, New York, 1988, p.108.

36. According to BRL, *Soho Mint Coinage Day Book, Feby 8, 1791 - May 16, 1795*, p. 127, on March 11, 1793 (not billed until June 5) two sets of twenty different bronzed strikings of Soho tokens and medals, each of which is individually numbered and described, were sent to Richard Chippindall. I believe that this is the first detailed description of one of these Soho "specimen sets". The next day, March 12, the Soho Mint forwarded to Samuel Birchall "20 sorts bronzed", that is, an additional set (*Soho Mint Coinage Day Book, Feby 8, 1791 - May 16, 1795*, p.109). Possibly these three were the first such full "specimen sets" sold, although much smaller sets of, for example, Monneron tokens and medals, had been prepared earlier.

37. This is reproduced in W. J. Davis, *The Nineteenth Century Token Coinage*, London 1904, reprinted 1969, pp. xx-xxi.

38. "THE SOHO MINT, NEAR BIRMINGHAM. A CATALOGUE of THE VALUABLE MACHINERY AND PLANT of THE SOHO MINT, long celebrated and in high repute with the Government of Great Britain, as also with Foreign powers in Europe, Asia and America, the East India Company

and with mercantile and other firms of eminence in all parts of the world . . . THE EXTREMELY VALUABLE COLLECTION OF DIES for the coins and medals, well-known as the Soho Collection, most beautifully executed, principally by the celebrated Kuchler, and by Droz and Philpp, also the Dies for many rare Coins. . . Which will be Sold by Auction, by Messrs. FULLER AND HORSEY, On MONDAY, APRIL 29, 1850, and following days. . . AT THE WORKS, NEAR BIRMINGHAM."

These are brief excerpts from the much lengthier and more detailed description on the title page of the auction catalogue.

Many years later the collection of Matthew Piers Watt Boulton, Matthew Boulton's grandson, included a silver example of the Myddelton token. *Catalogue of the valuable collection of English, Colonial and Foreign Coins and Medals including the property of the late Matthew Piers Watt Boulton, Esq. of Tew Park, Enstone*. London, April 1-2, 1912 (Sotheby, Wilkinson & Hodge), lot 155.

**39.** The lot realized 18 shillings; the purchaser was Heaton. The Heaton family also purchased much of the machinery that was offered, including the coining and the cutting-out presses, equipment which enabled them to enter the mintage business and eventually establish their own family dynasty.

**40.** The defense Erskine offered in his more famous and successful cases was taken down in shorthand. If such a shorthand transcript of the Myddelton trial exists, it would probably provide additional information concerning Myddelton, his actions, and his intentions.

**41.** PRO, KB 28/377.

**42.** Thursday, June 9. I am indebted to George Cuhaj for his help in determining specific dates in 1796 for certain holidays of the Christian calendar.

**43.** PRO, KB 28/377 (this writ is actually undated; the June 1 date is found on the variant version in PRO, KB 16/21).

**44.** Mainprize: procuring the release of a prisoner by standing surety for his court appearance at a specific time. Even in the unlikely event that Myddelton could have found someone to stand surety for him, his sentence would have prohibited this.

**45.** PRO, KB 28/377.

A £500 fine and a minimum of twelve months in jail or until the fine was paid, which was the sentence that Myddelton received, was originally provided for in the Act of 1750 (see endnote 47 below).

**46.** British Library, Court of King's Bench, shelf number 1243.I.1-8, eight volumes, London, 1787-1800, pp. 739-740.

**47.** The late Professor J. R. Harris in his *Industrial Espionage and Technology Transfer, Britain and France in the Eighteenth Century* (Aldershot, 1998) devotes a chapter ('Laws, Actions and Attitudes in Britain', pp. 453-477) to discussing the laws created in England to prevent the emigration of artisans and the export of tools and machinery. Harris describes the major legislation beginning with the Act of 1719, as well as those of 1750 and 1774, together with additional supplementary legislation of 1782, 1785 and 1786. The Harris book, being specifically concerned with the movement of craftsmen and materials to the Continent, especially France, omits any mention of the statute of 1783 which Myddelton was accused of violating, no doubt because this

statute was primarily concerned with clarifying the status of Britain's former American colonies. They had become "a certain foreign country called America", and were therefore, from the English point of view, now subject to the earlier legislation.

48. Law was the attorney prosecuting on behalf of the Crown.

49. Per Curiam: by the court.

50. Non constat: the evidence is not before the court.

51. The Burney collection of newspapers at the BL includes all of these.

52. NYHS, Rufus King correspondence, vol. 25, no. 53.

53. William Bingham (1752-1804), prominent Philadelphia businessman, landowner, and society leader.

54. Myddelton is in error; he was actually sentenced on June 9th.

55. Myddelton presumably uses this word to mean "release" or "discharge"; I have been unable to find a definition of it in the few dictionaries I have consulted.

56. The letter bears Myddelton's easily recognizable signature – large, and straight up and down – but the body of the letter, in a smaller, very neat hand, was probably written for him by a professional scribe.

57. PRO KB 28/377. Saint Martin's Day is commemorated on November 11; therefore Myddelton must have finally left Newgate on Wednesday, November 27, 1799, having been imprisoned for nearly three and a half years.

58. Issues from September 19, 1795 through January 21, 1797 of *The Kentucky Gazette* were examined at the library of the NYHS (New-York Historical Society), which has a photocopied set of this earliest Kentucky newspaper.

59. Personal communication from Dr. Charles J. Rekow of Fort Thomas, Kentucky to the author, November 6, 1995, enclosing a letter of October 19, 1995 he had received from *The Filson Club*.

I am grateful to Dr. Rekow for his continued interest in this article, despite its painfully slow progress, and for permitting me to illustrate his silver example of the Myddelton token.

It might be noted in passing that Willard Rouse Jillson, *The Kentucky Land Grants*, Louisville, 1925, lists a tract in the name of one Jno. Middleton, which had been surveyed from May 5 to 16, 1792. This parcel was located in Woodford County in east central Kentucky, a particularly well situated area, quite close to two important towns – Frankfort, the future state capital (Kentucky was admitted to the Union on June 1, 1792), and Lexington, already the location of Transylvania College, (established in 1783), the oldest institution of higher learning west of the Alleghenies, as well as of *The Kentucky Gazette*, founded in 1787, the first newspaper published west of these mountains. However, as this parcel consisted of a mere 212 acres, it would likely have been only a small fraction of the size required for Myddelton's plans, and as in any event Philip Parry Price did not add the surname Myddelton until a few years later, it can be safely disregarded as having any connection with him.



**60.** A copy of this issue is in the collection of the American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, MA, to whom I am indebted for permission to illustrate the relevant portion.

**61.** Note that this news item, as originally reported by Richard Picker in *The Colonial Newsletter*, December 1963, sequential page 71, transmits information that he had received from a Mrs. Beth Bland Engel, and that it differs in a few details, one very significant, from the actual text of the report as illustrated here. In the last sentence of *The Colonial Newsletter* transcript the last name "Price" has been changed to "Middleton." Picker's correspondent, believing, probably incorrectly, that our Myddelton was related to the Middleton family from which she was descended, substituted Middleton for Price in the text she sent to Picker.

**62.** This postscript has been omitted by Taxay. It might be noted that Boulton did not reply to Myddelton's inquiry. Was it because he did not want to help him to export tools or machinery abroad?

**63.** *The Trial before Chief Justice Sir James Mansfield and a Special Jury of Merchants, at Guildhall, between Philip Parry Price Myddelton, Plaintiff, and Francis Hughes, Defendant; for Slander.* London, 1806. BL, shelf mark 1414.f.2.

**64.** It might be noted in passing that during this trial it was stated that Myddelton had acquired his medical degree from a Scottish diploma mill. However, this statement must be weighed against his own later claim that, "so far back as 1792 I published a work . . . in London, entitled, '*A Treatise on the Diagnosis and Prognosis of Diseases*'. This claim occurs in his *A preliminary Dissertation illustrative of a new System of pulmonary pathology*. Bath 1825. BL, shelf mark 1187.f.11,

**65.** Myddelton, as we have seen, was actually an Englishman. He refers to America in his letter to Rufus King quoted above as "*my adopted Country, on the other side of the atlantic.*" Evidently he had spent enough time there to acquire "a little of the Yankee dialect."

**66.** Auctions by Bowers and Merena, March 21-22, 1991, lot 1044.

**67.** New Netherlands Coin Co, *60th Public Auction Sale*, December 3-4, 1968, lot 439; *Walter Breen's Complete Encyclopedia of U.S. and Colonial Coins*, New York, 1988, p. 106.

**68.** Only those listings which give the weight of the example being sold have been cited.

**69.** John Jay Pittman Collection, part one, October 21-23, 1997, lot 121, (David Akers Numismatics).

**70.** My thanks to John M. Kleeberg, Curator of Modern Coins and Currency at the American Numismatic Society, who arranged for my examination of the relevant Myddelton tokens in the ANS collection and their subsequent photography.

**71.** On this issue see the excellent study by J.E. Everingham, 'The Copper Company of Upper Canada Halfpenny - a Study', *Warren Baker List No. 28* (1976), pp. 22-28, and *List No. 29* (1977?), pp. 17-22.

**72.** See Brian Gould, 'Noël-Alexandre Ponthon, Medallist and Miniaturist (1769/70-1835)' *Seaby's Coin and Medal Bulletin*, August 1972, pp. 312-319, and September 1972, pp. 361-367. This is a very interesting short biography of a previously obscure engraver. It should be noted, however, that Gould mistakenly attributes the Myddelton token to Ponthon, even though he had left Boulton's employ in 1795.

**73.** On James Lawson see H. W. Dickinson & Rhys Jenkins, *James Watt and the Steam Engine*, Oxford 1927, pp. 286-288.

**74.** R.W. McLachlan, 'The Copper Tokens of Upper Canada', *The American Journal of Numismatics*, vol. XLIX, 1916, pp. 79-80.

**75.** John J. Ford, Jr., 'Numismatic Americana The Copper Company of Upper Canada', *The Coin Collector's Journal*, vol. 18, no. 3, May-June 1951, p.68. Ford calls the muled side of the Myddelton token the reverse, rather than the obverse. Although W.J. Taylor is notorious for his restriking, muling, and altering of Soho dies, I am unaware of the basis for Davis's statement concerning the muling activities of the London dealers Young and Till.

**76.** Don Taxay, *Scott's Comprehensive Catalogue and Encyclopedia of U.S. Coins*, New York, 1971, pp. 24-25. Note that Taxay also confuses the obverse and reverse of the Myddelton token, and that consequently he describes the mule as having two reverses. The same description appears in the second (1976) edition of this work.

**77.** Russell Rulau, *Standard Catalogue of United States Tokens 1700-1900*, 2nd ed., Iola, 1997, p. 20.

**78.** David Vice, 'The Copper Company of Upper Canada Halfpenny Token', offprints from *Spink's Numismatic Circular*, of March, April, May, and June 1977. This article and the one by Everingham cited above are first-rate treatments of this issue.

Vice, like Ford and Taxay, when discussing the mule considers the reverse of the Kentucky token to be the side depicting Hope presenting the two little genii to Liberty and with legend BRITISH SETTLEMENT KENTUCKY. He also describes what is normally considered the reverse of the Copper Company of Upper Canada token as its obverse. Consequently, in describing the mule he considers the Canada side its obverse and the Kentucky side its reverse.

**79.** Walter Breen, *Walter Breen's Complete Encyclopedia of U.S. and Colonial Coins*, New York, 1988, p.107.

**80.** Richard Doty, 'Boulton, Watt and the Canadian Adventure', in *Canada's Money*, New York, 1994, pp. 40-41. This was a paper presented at the American Numismatic Society's Coinage of the Americas Conference, November 7, 1992.

**81.** David T. Alexander, Thomas K. DeLorey (editors), *Coin World Comprehensive Catalog & Encyclopedia of United States Coins*, New York, 1990. pp. 79-80.

**82.** Bowers and Merena Galleries, *Rare Coin Review No. 125*, September/October 1998, p.3.

**83.** On many occasions the Soho Mint during Boulton's stewardship produced very limited numbers of silver strikings, as well as bronzed and gilt copper examples, for presentation purposes and/or sale, but I am unaware of the mint during its early period deliberately creating a rare mule by combining two unrelated dies.

**84.** A single example of the Myddelton/Copper Company mule, the Norweb specimen at the ANS, was examined and compared with two examples of the Copper Company of Upper Canada token also in the ANS collection.

**85.** If additional specimens of the mule are weighed, it can be determined if they fall within the two weight ranges and whether, like the Norweb specimen, they are all struck in medal axis (↑↑). It remains to be seen if such additional data might suggest different periods of striking.

Furthermore, if Vice's statement that the mules first began to appear on the market after 1860 is accurate, a reevaluation of my suggestion that most if not all of the mules were struck in 1796 might be called for.

**86.** The four court terms or sessions in 1796, as shown on Peter Kempson's calendar medal for that year, were: Hilary Term, from January 23 to February 12; Easter Term, April 13 to May 9; Trinity Term, May 27 to June 15; and Michelfmas Term, November 6 to 28.

## The Research Forum REVISITED (Part II)

by  
James C. Spilman, Editor Emeritus

### RF-51: What was the Coentie's-Club of New York?

On pages 290 and 291 Crosby reports the actions of a Committee within the Assembly of the State of New York during the year 1787 wherein they are considering various coinage petitions for that State. This report, after reviewing the various problems associated with copper coins circulating in New York, states that: "These all pass by consent without discrimination, at fourteen to the shilling."

The agreement to accept these various coins at the uniform rate of fourteen to the shilling was arrived at in 1753 when a group of 72 New York merchants and shopkeepers published a statement in the New York Gazette on December 24, 1753 stating that they would not accept after this date copper halfpence otherwise than 14 for a shilling.

The movement gained strength and one week later, on December 31, 1753 the same paper carried this observation: "We are credibly informed, that several other Merchants and Shopkeepers, besides those mentioned in our last paper, have since that (sic), determined to take or pay Copper Half-pence no otherways than Fourteen to the Shilling, particularly the majority of the Coentie's-Club." This seems to have clinched the agreement that was to hold firm for many years.

What was this Coentie's-Club and who were its members who apparently exerted considerable influence in stabilizing the rate of exchange of halfpence and coppers in New York State?

**□ □ An easy question thought ye Editor. Just look it up in the early New York records or newspapers; however, only one reply was received to this question – and it was from our present CNL Associate/Layout Editor Gary Trudgen, as follows:**

In my effort to locate information on The Coentie's Club, I checked another New York newspaper of the day, *The New-York Mercury*. The *Mercury* is on microprint, therefore I was unable to photocopy the relevant information. Instead I was forced to transcribe the items I found, of which a copy is enclosed. The first two items are fully transcribed, while the remainder are synopses. As you will note, there was no mention of the Coentie's Club in the *Mercury's* reports. Interestingly, the merchants claim that the copper halfpence should be devalued was not universally accepted. This argument dragged on for at least a month before it died out and the devaluation then apparently went into effect.

I have been unable to understand the calculations that were initially presented to justify the devaluation. I comprehend parts of the calculations, but cannot put it all together. The loss calculated by the Colonials (£725 out of £2000) appears to be much larger than the devaluation they desired. If you understand their calculations, would you please walk me through them? Adding to the confusion, the Colonials seem to use the terms halfpence, pence, and penny interchangeably. [The Editor, Philip Mossman, recently tackled this problem. His results are presented in Appendix A, starting on page 2030.]

I've also included an April 8th notice concerning seizure of counterfeit halfpence. Eric Newman, in his article "English and Bungtown Halfpence," states that a large amount of counterfeit halfpence came into America from England in 1753. In fact, this flood of bad money is what prompted the subject public resolution.

Sincerely,  
Gary Trudgen [Letter of July 18, 1990]

=====

***The New-York Mercury***

Printed by Hugh Gainé, opposite Old-Slip Market

**Monday, December 24, 1753; No. 72**

We, the Subscribers, being sensible, that the Importation of British Copper Half-pence, is prejudicial to the Interest of this Colony and a great Means depreciating our Currency, legally established; do for the Preventing thereof, on our Word of Honour, declare, That we will not, after this Day, receive Copper Half-pence, otherwise than Fourteen for a Shilling, and that we will pay then away at the same Rate; provided Fifty of the principal Merchants of this City sign this Paper, in that Case, We hereby give Leave to the Printers in this City in their next Week's Papers, to make this Resolution public.

[72 names listed as signed; however, these were not the Coenties-Club members]

Dr. The Colony of New-York, for every £1000, Ster. of Copper Half-pence, imported and circulating.

To £1000 Sterling passing here two for one, is this Currency, £2000.

By real Value of those Pence, which, if they hold their Weight, (as few do) would be five Pound to every 20s. and if they were good Copper, would be worth 17d. Ster. per Pound; but as much Alloy is mixed with them, they are not in Truth good Copper; however, to obviate all Objections, we will allow the Deficiency of Weight, and the Alloy thrown in, for the Expense of Coining, and suppose the Quality and Weight unexceptionable, the £1000 Currency would weigh 10,000 lb. and that cast up at its true value, viz. 17d. Sterling a Pound, makes £708\_6\_8 Sterling, which Calculated at 80 per C. the present Exchange amounts to in this Currency

£1275 0 0

By a Loss to the Colony, on every £1000 Ster.

imported and Circulating

£725 0 0

£2000 0 0

In all Cases of Money, where a sinking Fund is not provided, the intrinsic Value is to be considered, Silver and Gold, rises and falls as different Communities on different Occassions call for them. Some imagine, that passing a nominal Value on Money makes the imaginary Worth real; but how much they are mistaken, the Conduct of the people of New England, particularly Rhode-Island, clearly demonstrates. They have struck great Quantities of bills of credit, without honest sinking Funds, and what have been the Consequences? Why, their Money has fallen to the lowest Degree of Contempt, and in so short a Time, that Multitudes now living, can remember when their Money was equal with ours. Besides, was there no Necessity for sinking Money, in order to preserve its Credit, why do we every Day pay such heavy Taxes? In Regard to Pennys, how shall we sink or where stop them? Certainly no where, while they pass at such so unreasonable Rates, higher than in any of his Majesty's Dominions, and this unhappy Colony, must in the End, be the General Sink of all that Worthless Money; and when the Remedy is found absolutely necessary

(and that such a Time must come, needs no Arguments to prove it) how wretched and confused shall we be to reflect that though we saw the End growing every Day more and more troublesome, we wanted Steadiness to administer Remedy, till the Disease became incurable, without shocking the whole Frame. At Home while they have Copper in the Kingdom, they can't follow a better Business than supply us in the Manner above stated, nor can all the Monies this Colony has put together, sinks at its Quiet and Interest more eventually.

The above Reasoning clearly shows the Necessity there is for every true Lover of his Country, to endeavor as much as in him lies, the reducing Pennys to Fourteen for a shilling.

**Monday, December 31, 1753; No. 73**

In your inst. Paper No. 72, several Merchants, Traders, and others, published their Resolution to reduce the value of Pence, by receiving and passing them no otherwise than at Fourteen, instead of the long accustomed Way of Twelve to the Shilling, very justly supposing them to have passed at more than their real Value; And that the Cause of such great Quantities being imported, which I believe that hardly any Body will deny; and from which I have heard, presume that the whole City, if not the Colony, would unanimously like in proper Reduction; provided it was done in a more equitable Way than for the Persons who are so unlucky as to have great Sums, their All, or greatest Part of their Money by them in Pence, and many of them not in affluent Circumstances, to bear the Loss of near Fourteen per Cent. While those who are lucky enough to have but few, or none, in their Hands; the otherwise, perhaps, Men of the greatest Estates in the Government, shall not pay any Thing towards the bettering of our Currency, while their large Estates will reap the greatest Advantage from it.—This must be allow'd even by the warmest of the Party. Some of whom. its not impossible, and indeed it is well known, to have had a considerable Share in the Importation, and unjust Gain of Pence; having put them off with Profit, would now endeavor to make the Loss fall on the innocent; which tho' it may not be called Fraud in Law, will in Reason I know there's many that will say, that the Loss must fall somewhere, and that the sooner its done, the better; however, I presume there may be some, if not many more equitable Means found for the Purpose; of which I make no Doubt our Assembly will convince us, at their next Meeting: Especially, as they have already resolv'd to take it into Consideration; which ought to be sufficient to still the unquiet 'till Then. Although many more Arguments be used, shall only add, The great Stagnation it has already caused in Trade, the Confusion that daily arises, and may increase, 'till the matter be settled by the Legislative Powers; to which, no doubt, every honest Person will cheerfully submit with.

*The Plain Dealer*

**January 7, 1754**

A long letter, signed "A Citizen," argues that the majority of the people in the city accept "twelve pence to the shilling." He continues to say that only the Representatives in the General Assembly can change the rate and that the 50 merchants have no right to edict a change.

**January 21, 1754**

An address by several citizens to the Lieutenant Governor, James DeLancy, was published. The address belittled those who spoke out against lowering the value of copper halfpence and stated that the reduction was necessary.

**January 28, 1754**

An extract of a letter from New Brunswick, NJ was published. The writer states that lowering "Copper-pence to fourteen to a shilling" is founded on reason and that it is time for the Jersies to follow the example.

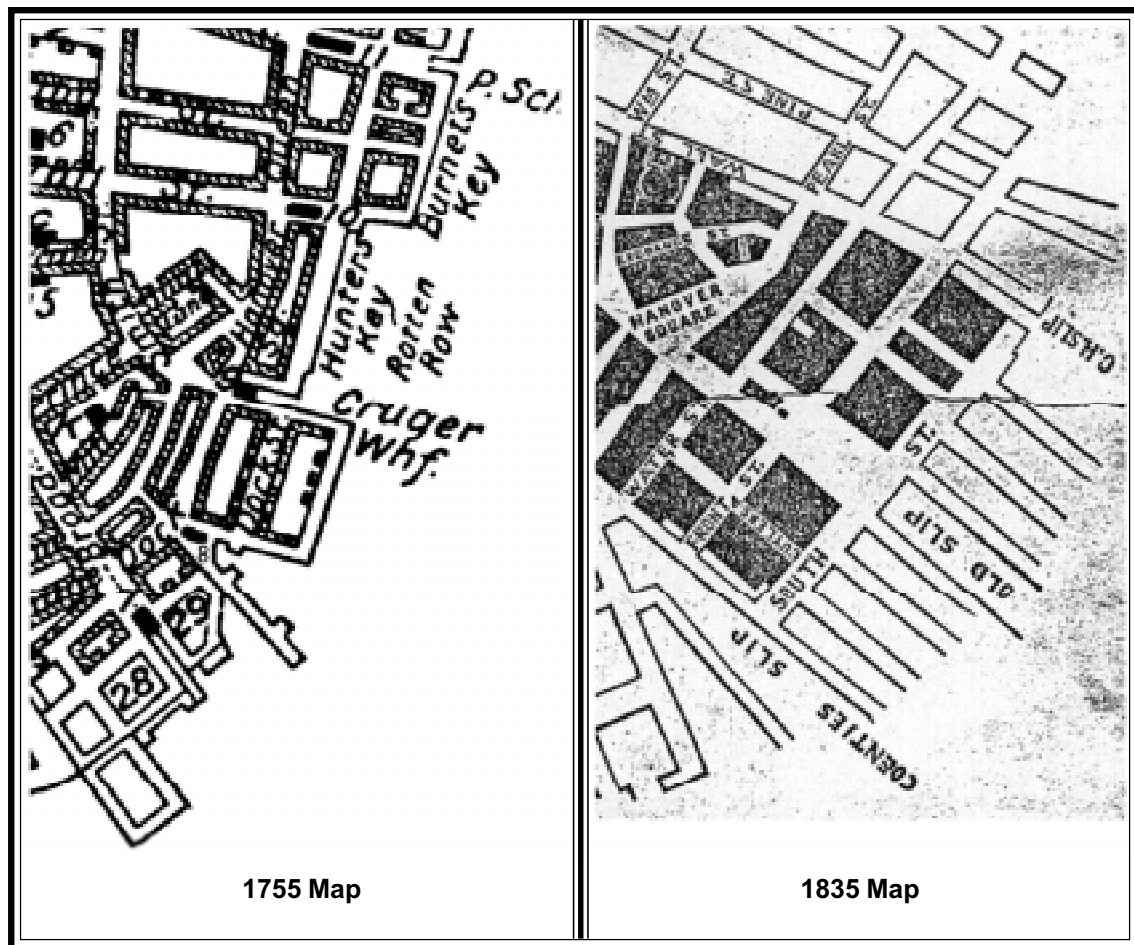
April 8, 1754

The follow notice was published: "Last Tuesday Morning £150 in Counterfeit British Half-pence was seized in a House in the City, by George Harrison, Esq. Surveyor and Searcher of his Majesty's Customs."

□ □ These references led off in another direction for Gary and resulted in his paper in *Rare Coin Review (RCR)* Number 85, pages 77-79, published by Bower's and Merena and titled "The 1753 Coppers Crisis in New York". Although Gary's paper originated with RF-51 "What was the Coentie's-Club" his research assumed a life of its own – the only reference to the RF-51 subject in Gary's RCR paper is "Whatever the Coentie's Club was seems to have been lost in the mists of time. ...". So – to our CNL Patrons – keep searching.

□ □ Early maps show three slips on the lower east side of New York City: C.H.Slip, Old-slip and Coenties-slip.

These two maps, one an 1755 map from an actual survey by the city surveyor and the other an 1835 map from the pages of *The Family Magazine*, are shown side by side. Only the area of interest from each map is shown. On the latter map the area in black is that which was destroyed in the 1835 fire.



□ □ **Our Associate/Layout Editor, Gary Trudgen, dug up the 1755 map of the area and observed :**

"From this map of the time period of interest, you can note that neither the Coenties Market or Coenties Slip is identified. However, on the 1835 map Coenties Slip is identified and it is obvious that the slip, while not specifically identified on the 1755 map, is shown. The Coenties Market is referred to in the contemporary newspapers from 1750 up through 1773. After that period of time it no longer appears. Also, Coenties Slip doesn't start appearing on contemporary maps until after the Revolution, although I found it referred to in an early 1700 reference."

"On the 1755 map, I believe that No. 8, which is labeled the Fish Market, is actually the Coenties Market. This belief is based upon contemporary newspaper writeups that use the Coenties Market as a reference for business locations. It is very likely that the Coenties Club was an association of merchants surrounding or participating in the Coenties Market."

"Whenever I have the opportunity, I plan to visit our local university library and check Stokes' *Iconography of Manhattan Island* for possible information on the Coenties Market, Slip and Club. I've used this excellent secondary source in the past, but I don't specifically remember looking for information on Coenties – so I'll do it again."

□ □ **Today those three slips are gone, filled-in at some later date and they exist today only as streets; Wall Street, Coenties Slip and Coenties Alley, and Old Slip, as well.**

□ □ **Coenties (or Coentie) is an unusual name and we have had no luck whatever determining its origins. Even the Internet, today, when examined by a dozen or so search engines produces only three references – the first, the famous line from paragraph three of Herman Manville's *Moby Dick*. "Right and left, the streets take you waterward..." "...Go from Corlears Hook to Coenties Slip, and from thence..." Next, one current address for a chocolate shop located on Coenties Slip and finally, a listing of Currier and Ives prints one of which is "View of the Great Conflagration of Dec. 16th and 17th 1835, from Coenties Slip."**

**However – having written that – our Associate/Layout Editor Gary Trudgen, following ye Editor's submission of this article for publication, came up with this gem of information:**

"Coenties is a diminutive of Coenraet and Antje Ten Eyck's first names (Coen + tje's). They were husband and wife who lived in the Coenties Slip area of New Amsterdam (early NYC). Coenraet was a Burgher from 1651 through 1687. I've seen Coenties spelled as 'Coentjes' in early references which is explained by the spelling of Antje's name. Obviously, the possessive apostrophe has been dropped and the 'j' replaced with an 'i'."

□ □ **And that is where it stands today! So – CNL Patrons – keep searching. The truth is out there. JCS**



## APPENDIX A

**Interpretation of Monetary Calculations  
from  
The New-York Mercury of December 24, 1753**

In order to decipher this financial statement, I first isolated all the significant numbers in the article.

**The Colony of New-York, for every £1000, Ster. of Copper Half-pence, imported and circulating.**

**To £1000 Sterling passing here two for one, is this Currency £2000.**

**By real Value of those Pence, which, if they hold their Weight, (as few do) would be five Pound to every 20s. and if they were good Copper, would be worth 17d. Ster. per Pound;**

**the £1000 Currency would weigh 10,000 lb. and that cast up at its true value, viz. 17d. Sterling a Pound, makes £708\_6\_8 Sterling, which Calculated at 80 per C. the present Exchange amounts to in this Currency**

**£1275\_0\_0**

**By a Loss to the Colony, on every £1000 Ster. imported and Circulating**

**£725\_0\_0**

I found this calculation most intriguing particularly because its author changed a few of the numbers for his convenience so that his arithmetic would be easier.

**Background:** New York had been passing copper halfpence at 12 to the NY shilling, but this value was incorrect since halfpence were overvalued. That is, merchants were receiving too few of them in exchange for a NY shilling. The basis of exchange for coin was pegged at 54d sterling and 96d. NY to the Spanish milled dollar. At this rate, the value received should have been 1.5 more, or 13.5 coppers to the Currency shilling, NY money of account.

Using the conversion formula, we see:

**(English standard ÷ New York standard) x sterling value = NY value**

**( 54 ÷ 96 ) x 24 halfpence to the English shilling = 13.5 halfpence to the NY shilling**

To rectify this inequity, the proposition before the merchants was to increase the rate to 14 coppers to the shilling and therefore all this rhetoric. So we read: **That we will not, after this Day, receive Copper Half-pence, otherwise than Fourteen for a Shilling ...**,

And the author also adds: **The Colony of New-York, for every £1000, Ster. of Copper Half-pence, imported and circulating. To £1000 Sterling passing here two for one, is this Currency £2000.** which is another way of saying that halfpence were passing in NY at 12 to the "Currency" shilling, or just one half, **(here two for one)** the number as in England.

But *now* he says: **By real Value of those Pence, which, if they hold their Weight, (as few do) would be five Pound to every 20s.** which means that five pounds [weight] of halfpence have a currency value of 20 shillings, or £1, in New York, at a rate of 12 to the NY shilling.

He arrives at this figure since he is aware that the Tower Mint was required to convert a pound of copper into 46 halfpence. Now his above statement can be expressed by the equation:

$$5 \text{ pounds} \times 46 = 240 \text{ halfpence}$$

But that is not true - twenty shillings value in halfpence does not weigh five lbs.!

$$5 \times 46 = 230 \text{ halfpence from 5 pounds of copper, not 240!}$$

So at this invented rate of 230 halfpence per 20 NY shillings, the exchange now becomes

$$230 \text{ halfpence} \div 20 \text{ shillings} = 11.5 \text{ halfpence per NY shilling}$$

I believe he does this manipulation for ease of calculation.

He continues:

**if they were good Copper, would be worth 17d. Ster. per Pound;**

Expressed by a formula:

$$46 \text{ halfpence} = 17\text{d. sterling}$$

and to continue:

**the £1000 Currency would weigh 10,000 lb. and that cast up at its true value, viz. 17d. Sterling a Pound, makes £708\_6\_8 Sterling,**

the formula becomes:

$$£1000 \times 20 \text{ shillings to } £ \times 11.5 \text{ halfpence to the shilling} = 230,000 \text{ halfpence}$$

$$\text{now at 17d sterling per 46 halfpence}$$

$$(230,000 \div 46) \times 17\text{d.} = 85,000 \text{ d. sterling}$$

$$85,000 \text{ d.} \div 240\text{d to the } £ = £354.1666 = £354 \text{ 3s. 4d. in NY Currency}$$

But that is just *half* of his answer, since this is in **currency** which, in terms of the value of halfpence, is just one half the sterling amount.

**The Colony of New-York, for every £1000, Ster. of Copper Half-pence, imported and circulating. To £1000 Sterling passing here two for one, is this Currency £2000.**

So the author doubles the answer. **£708 6s 8d** Notice how convenient it was to have 11.5 halfpence, 230 halfpence, and 46 coppers to the shilling? He could deal with easy numbers which made his math so much less cumbersome.

Now for the rest. The author uses a different exchange rate for the rest of his calculation, that of New York bills of credit on London, which in December 1753 was 180:100. (John J. McCusker, *Money and Exchange in Europe and America, 1600-1775* [Chapel Hill, 1978] p. 164)

**which Calculated at 80 per C. the present Exchange amounts to in this Currency** **£1275\_0\_0**

**By a Loss to the Colony, on every £1000 Ster. imported and Circulating** **£725\_0\_0**

$$£708 \text{ 6s } 8\text{d} = 708.333$$

$$(180 \div 100) \times £708.333 = £1274.9994 = £1275 \text{ 0 0 NY Currency}$$

$$\text{Now } £1000 \text{ sterling in halfpence} = £2000 \text{ currency}$$

$$£2000 - £1275 = £725 \text{ 0 0 loss in NY Currency}$$

This is my interpretation of some very creative colonial bookkeeping!

# Book Review

## ***Indian Peace Medals or His Majesties Sometimes Allies***

by John W. Adams

● ● from Associate Editor Mike Hodder:

"The finest and most thorough analysis of the types of British medals awarded to Indians that has ever been undertaken."

● ● from Editor Emeritus J. C. Spilman:

This book is an absolute gem in both content and as an example of excellence in the bookmaker's craft and represents a stellar addition to the numismatic resources now available on early American numismatics.

Adams has departed from the current habits of modern numismatic writers by presenting in-depth historical backgrounds to accompany each of the medallic types of Indian Peace Medals produced by the British during the American "colonial" era as well as the War of 1812 era. A substantive number of historical inaccuracies of earlier researchers and writers have been corrected in his book.

A quick glance at the Table of Contents is insightful:

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For those of us with an interest in the Indian Peace Medals in America – we have a new "bible."